

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, January 15, 2001
Volume 37—Number 2
Pages 17–110

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under

regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 FR 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

Distribution is made only by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* will be furnished by mail to domestic subscribers for \$80.00 per year (\$137.00 for mailing first class) and to foreign subscribers for \$93.75 per year, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The charge for a single copy is \$3.00 (\$3.75 for foreign mailing).

There are no restrictions on the republication of material appearing in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*.

Week Ending Friday, January 12, 2001

**Remarks on Action To Preserve
America's Forests**

January 5, 2001

Thank you very much. You guys are all cheating. You're just trying to warm up. I know what's going on. [*Laughter*] I was told by an elderly conservationist from my home State of Arkansas that I had better do a good job with America's natural resources when I became President, on pain of feeling the fire of Hades. I did not realize that our reward is that we would be freezing to death here. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank my good friend Senator Gaylord Nelson for a lifetime of leadership in conservation. And I am profoundly grateful to Secretary Glickman and to Chief Dombeck, a career public servant, who said it all when he began by saying, "This is not a political issue for those of us who believe in it."

I thank Jim Lyons and the others at the Department of Agriculture and the Forest Service. I want to thank our EPA Administrator, Carol Browner, who's here with us today. Just a few days ago, she announced her new rule to cut harmful emissions caused by the burning of diesel fuel. It will dramatically improve the quality of air in America, and we thank her for that.

I would like to also acknowledge the substantial contributions to this effort, particularly in fading the heat. And believe it or not, even today there was some heat involved in this. I want to thank John Podesta and George Frampton and the others at the White House for their strong support for the course we have followed.

And I'd like to thank Dr. Tom Elias for hosting us again and for showing me my bonsai tree when I came up. [*Laughter*] We came here 2 years ago to launch the lands legacy initiative, and I knew this was the place to plant the seeds of success. And I thank him—that is also another major

achievement of this Congress this year, the largest increase in funding for land conservation in the history of the Republic, and I thank all those who were involved in that.

Finally, I would like to thank Congressman Mark Udall for being here with his bride, Maggie. Thank you very much for being here. As you know, he comes from a family with fairly substantial environmental credentials, and he came here, and the first thing he said was that we had done the right thing today. And we will need his voice in Congress this year, and we thank him for being here.

For the first time ever, with the lands legacy initiative, we established a dedicated continuous fund for protecting and restoring green and open spaces across America. Today we come to build on that record.

In one way or another, all of us have come here, and I now have come to know many of you in this audience. And I know we come from different backgrounds and have traveled different paths through life, but somehow or another, we have in common our view that nature is a priceless but fragile gift, an important part of the fabric of our lives, and a major part of our responsibility to our children and our children's children.

I grew up in a State where more than half the land is covered by forest. I grew up in a town surrounded by a national park. Most of the people who enjoy our public lands are like the people I grew up with—hard-working families who very often could afford no other kind of vacation and can afford nature's bounty because our forebears made sure that it belongs to them, and it belongs to us all.

I am grateful that we can stand here today because of the work done by Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and John Muir. I am grateful for all those who have walked in their footsteps for a hundred years. I am grateful that for the last 8 years I had a Vice President who spoke out strongly for these values and these policies and helped us to

do what we have done to be good stewards of the land.

We have saved and restored some of our most glorious natural wonders, from Florida's Everglades to Hawaii's coral reefs, from the redwoods of California to the red rock canyons of Utah. We have helped hundreds of communities, under the Vice President's leadership, to protect parks and farms and other green spaces. We've built new partnerships with landowners to restore and preserve the natural values of our private land.

We've modernized the management of our national forests to strengthen protections for water quality, wildlife, and recreation, while ensuring a steady and sustainable supply of timber. We have greatly expanded our cooperation with other nations to protect endangered species and threatened areas, like tropical forests.

In a larger sense, I hope and believe we have helped to put to rest the old debate between economic growth and environmental protection. We have the strongest economy in a generation and the cleanest environment in a generation. And I might say, parenthetically, that as we come to grips—as inevitably we must—with the challenge of climate change, and even though it is hard to believe on this day global warming is real—[laughter]—those of you who are here today will have to be in the vanguard reminding people that we can break the iron chain between more greenhouse gas emissions and economic growth. It is not necessary any longer, but we have to be smarter about what we're doing.

Today we take, as Secretary Glickman said, a truly historic lead on the path of environmental progress. Throughout our national forest system there are millions of acres of land that do not have and, in most cases, have never had roads cut through them. These areas represent some of the last, best unprotected wild lands anywhere in America.

These uniquely American landscapes are sanctuaries to hike and hunt and ski and fish. They're a source of clean water for millions of our fellow citizens. They are havens for wildlife and home to about one quarter of all threatened or endangered species in our Nation.

On a beautiful fall afternoon more than a year ago now, Secretary Glickman and many of you joined me at Virginia's Washington and Jefferson National Forest to launch a process to safeguard these lands. As Secretary Glickman just described, we reached out to the American people to help us develop the plan. More than a million and a half responded.

I'm told that more Americans were involved in shaping this policy than any land preservation initiative in the history of the Republic. Thanks to their extraordinary support, the process is now complete.

Sometimes, progress comes by expanding frontiers, but sometimes, it's measured by preserving frontiers for our children. Today we preserve the final frontiers of America's national forests for our children.

I am proud to announce that we will protect nearly 60 million acres of pristine forest land for future generations. That is an area greater in size than all our national parks combined. From the Appalachian Mountains to the Sierra Nevada, forest land in 39 States will be preserved in all its splendor, off limits to roadbuilding and logging that would destroy its timeless beauty.

This will include protection for the last great temperate rain forest in America, Alaska's Tongass National Forest. This initiative will provide strong, long-term protection for the Tongass, while honoring our commitment to address the economic concerns of local communities. We will work with them to ensure a smooth transition and to build a sound, sustainable economic base for the future.

Indeed, our entire approach to managing our national forests has been based on striking the right balance. For example, under this rule, the Forest Service still will be able to build a road or fight a fire or thin an area in an environmentally sensitive way, if it is essential to reducing the risk of future fires. And even as we strengthen protections, the majority of our forests will continue to be responsibly managed for timber production and other activities.

Bear in mind, as has already been said, only about 4 or 5 percent of our country's timber comes from our national forests. And less than 5 percent of that is now being cut

in roadless areas. Surely we can adjust the Federal program to replace 5 percent of 5 percent. But we can never replace what we might destroy if we don't protect those 58 million acres.

Ultimately, this is about preserving the land which the American people own for the American people that are not around yet, about safeguarding our magnificent open spaces, because not everyone can travel to the great palaces of the world, but everyone can enjoy the majesty of our great forests. Today we free the lands so that they will remain unspoiled by bulldozers, undisturbed by chainsaws, and untouched for our children. Preserving roadless areas puts America on the right road for the future, the responsible path of sustainable development.

The great conservationist Aldo Leopold, who pioneered the protection of wild forest roadless areas, said, "When we see the land as a community to which we belong, we may begin to use it with love and respect." If there is one thing that should always unite us as a community, across the generations, across parties, across time, it is love for the land. We keep faith with that tradition today, and we must keep faith with it in all the tomorrows to come.

This is a great day for America. I thank all of you who made it happen. It is your achievement, but it is a gift that you give to all future generations, to walk in the woods, fish in the streams, breathe the air. The beauty of our wild lands will now be there for our children, and all our children, for all time to come. And I hope you will always be very proud that you were a part of it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:25 p.m. in the courtyard at the U.S. National Arboretum. In his remarks, he referred to former Senator Gaylord Nelson, founder, Earth Day, and Thomas S. Elias, Director, U.S. National Arboretum. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks at an Armed Forces Tribute to the President in Arlington, Virginia

January 5, 2001

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. First, I would like to thank Secretary Cohen for his kind and generous remarks and even more for his outstanding leadership of the Department of Defense.

I must say, Bill, when I asked you to become Secretary of Defense, in an attempt to strengthen the bipartisan or, indeed, non-partisan support for the Defense Department among the American people and the Congress, I didn't know that I was the first President in history to ask an elected official of the opposite party to hold that job. Shoot, I might not have done it if I had known that. *[Laughter]*

It's one of those occasions where ignorance was wisdom, because you brought to the challenge a sharp mind, a fierce integrity, a loving heart for the men and women in uniform. Your wife, Janet, touched people who serve in our military forces all around the world in a unique and special way. And I'm glad that you believe this is the most important service of your 31-year career. But on this, sir, you gave as good as you got, and we thank you.

And General Shelton, I want to thank you. I will never forget the day when General Shelton, in his previous command post, stepped out of the boat, into the water, onto the beach in Haiti in his boots and his beret. I think he could have gone alone and prevailed just as well as he did with the help of the others who went with him.

I'll never forget the time I came to your office, sir, in your previous job, and I looked on the wall and there was a picture of Stonewall Jackson. And I said to myself, "I wonder if Stonewall Jackson would be a Democrat or a Republican if he were alive today." I've often commented to General Shelton that we have made—he, Secretary Cohen, and I—

an unpredictable but, I think, quite a successful team. And you have been a great Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, sir—a great Chairman, and we thank you. And we thank Carolyn for her leadership, as well.

I thank Deputy Secretary Rudy de Leon, for the many capacities in which he has served since the first days of this administration. Thank you, Secretary Slater, today, for what you have done as Secretary of Transportation with the Coast Guard. I thank the Service Secretaries, General Myers, the Service Chiefs, the other officers here, and enlisted personnel.

I thank especially the members of the White House, my Chief of Staff, John Podesta, my National Security Adviser, Sandy Berger, for the work that they have done with me on issues relating to the Armed Forces.

And I thank you for the medals you gave to Hillary and me. We were honored to receive them, but far more honored to spend the last 8 years in contact with the 1.4 million men and women on active duty, the more than 850,000 men and women serving in the Guard and Reserves—those who keep us secure and advance the cause of peace and freedom.

There is no greater honor in being President than to be Commander in Chief of these magnificent people, so many of them so very young. They are at the disposal of the President to defend our interests, to advance our values, to realize our vision. Most of the time, they do it with all the gusto and fervor of youth, all the discipline that long training brings. But on occasion, they do it at the cost of their all too young lives. We saw it most recently in the U.S.S. *Cole*, but every year, in ways that don't make the headlines, about 200 of these young people give their lives just doing their jobs.

No one who has not held this job can possibly understand the awesome sense of humility and honor and the sense of strength and capacity it brings to any President, to know that there are people like these who have sworn their lives and fortunes in sacred honor for the United States.

In July of 1776 our first Commander in Chief, George Washington, ordered American troops to assemble on Manhattan Island in New York, to hear the Declaration of

Independence read aloud—in full view, I might add, of the British forces then landing in Staten Island. He did it because he knew how important it was that our troops understand that the survival of our new Nation depended upon their success. For over 220 years now, the survival of our Nation has depended upon the military's success, and for over 220 years, our military has succeeded.

For these last 8 years, as Secretary Cohen chronicled, in a very different time, in a world after the cold war more interdependent than ever before, with new conflicts and old demons, the American military has again succeeded and succeeded brilliantly.

Thanks to you, the world is safer, and America stands taller. Thanks to you, working with our Korean allies, there is peace in the Korean Peninsula and new hope for reconciliation across the last dividing line in the cold war.

Thanks to you, arm in arm with an expanded NATO, ethnic cleansing and slaughter in the former Yugoslavia, in Bosnia, and Kosovo has ended. Refugees have returned to their homes. Freedom has a chance to flower.

Thanks to you, we are closer than ever before to building a Europe for the first time in history as peaceful, undivided, and democratic, a Europe where it is far less likely that young Americans will have to fight and die in this new century.

Thanks to you, Iraq has not regained the capability that threatened the world or its neighbors with weapons of mass destruction. Thanks to you, Haiti is free of dictators; East Timor free of oppression; Africa is beginning to prepare itself to solve more of its own problems; Latin America has been aided in natural disasters and against narco-traffickers; and the United States has led the world in removing more landmines than any other nation by far, without sacrificing the safety and security of our troops in battle.

And yet, those are only the headlines. On Christmas Eve, as I do or have done every Christmas Eve for the last 8 years, I telephoned a number of our men and women in uniform serving a long way from home, doing critical work unknown to most but benefiting all Americans. I thanked Navy Petty

Officer Second Class Mario Solares, who serves in Bahrain, making sure we have the piers, the bridges, the towers our vessels need as they protect peace in the Persian Gulf.

I thanked Air Force Staff Sergeant Erin McKenzie, who serves with the 607th Air Support Operations Group at Osan Air Base, making sure members of the 7th Air Force get a paycheck every 2 weeks as they guard the skies over South Korea.

I thanked U.S. Army Specialist Jeremy Kidder, who serves on a very remote Pacific island, an atoll 800 miles west of Hawaii, working to destroy our cold war stock of chemical weapons.

I thanked Marine Staff Sergeant Robert Sheridan, who guards our Embassy in Belarus. He was named Marine Security Guard of the Year in 2000, and we know how tough the competition is because, unfortunately, we have been reminded how dangerous that job can be.

I thanked Petty Officer Michael Sandwith, who serves in the Bering Seas on the Coast Guard cutter *Midgett*—and was recently forced to give chase to a vessel illegally fishing in our waters in the middle of a snowstorm with gale force winds and 24-foot swells.

There are another 1.4 million stories like this: Americans in uniform with compelling missions, serving in places and doing jobs our fellow citizens don't hear much about.

Behind the desk in the Oval Office, I have a now famous rack of coins from the military units, commanders, and senior enlisted personnel I have visited these past 8 years. There are almost 500 of them, not counting the duplicates. Whenever I look at them, I remember the faces of the service members I've met, men and women of every race, creed, religion, who trace their ancestry to every region on Earth, yet are still bound together by the common mission of defending freedom and the common faith in the American creed, *E pluribus unum*—out of many, one. It is not only inscribed on our coins; it is inscribed in the hearts of America's service men and women, and it is the coin of America's moral authority in the world.

I can tell you, after 8 years of traveling the world and dealing with the world's problems at the dawn of a new millennium, people elsewhere marvel at it. Our ability to live and work together in the military forces in spite of all those differences is by itself a powerful force for peace and reconciliation throughout the world. You are America's finest, and America must always be prepared to give you what you need to do your job. We can never pay you enough, but we can always pay you more.

I am proud that a year ago we put in place the biggest increase in military pay and retirement in a generation, proud that we reversed a decade of decline in defense budgets, and now can point to 4 straight years of growing investment in our future security. No one should think for a moment that investing in the strength of our military is less important in times of peace. The strength of our military is a major reason for our peace. We live in peace in no small measure because your courage and strength makes peace a wiser choice than war for other adversaries.

History will record triumphs in battle, as General Shelton said. But no one can ever write a full account of the wars that were never fought, the losses that were never suffered, the tears that were never shed because the men and women of the United States military risked their lives for peace. None of us should ever forget that.

Last year I visited a refugee camp in Macedonia full of Kosovar Albanians who had been driven from their homeland. As I walked through the camp, young children picked up a chant, "U.S.A., U.S.A., U.S.A.," kids everywhere I turned, chanting "U.S.A.," children who did not speak English, but knew enough, with their small voices, to thank America for giving them the chance to reclaim their land and their dreams.

I had the same response when I saw elderly people in Normandy in 1994 on the 50th anniversary of D-day. There, American veterans were approached by French citizens who told them that no matter how young they were when it happened or how old they might be then, they could never forget what America did for them.

Years from now, I hope some of our young veterans who served in the Balkans will have

a chance to go back and see in person the fruits of their service. Years from now, I hope some of our veterans who served in Korea during this period of historic change, or in the Gulf when nations there were under such stress, will have a chance to return and find grateful people. I hope some of our veterans who served in Africa or Asia or Latin America or eastern Europe will be able to return to where they helped to keep the peace, to relieve suffering, to set an example for a fledgling democracy.

If they do, I think they will find people who will still be wise and kind enough to say, "God bless you. You gave us a future."

And I hope that your Nation understands whatever you have done to the rest of the world, you have done that tenfold for America. For by helping to advance the cause of peace and freedom around the world, you have made freedom more secure here at home. May it always be so.

I thank you for the honor of doing my part these last 8 years. God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5 p.m. in Conmy Hall at Fort Myer. In his remarks, he referred to Janet Cohen, wife of Secretary of Defense William Cohen, and Carolyn Shelton, wife of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Henry H. Shelton, USA. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

January 6, 2001

Good morning. I want to start off with some good news. For the first time in a dozen years, the number of Americans who lack health insurance is declining. One of the main reasons is that more and more uninsured children from low and moderate income working families are now getting health coverage through a program called CHIP, the Children's Health Insurance Program. It was a part of the 1997 Balanced Budget Act.

Today I want to announce some more good news about CHIP and discuss new actions I'm taking to strengthen the program. In just 12 months the number of children served by the Children's Health Insurance Program has grown by 70 percent. Today,

more than 3.3 million children have health insurance under CHIP. That's making a real difference in their health and in costs to the health care system. We know that when uninsured children get health coverage, they go to the doctor's office more often and to the emergency room less often, and they're less likely to be hospitalized for conditions that could have been treated earlier and less expensively outside a hospital.

The success of CHIP is particularly impressive when you consider that the program has only been up and running for 3 years. It's a testament to the diligent efforts of the Federal, State, and local officials who run the program and to the love that parents have for their children.

Yet, there are still millions of children who are eligible for CHIP but aren't signed up, and millions of others who are eligible for health coverage under Medicaid but aren't getting it there, either. In most of these cases, parents just don't know about the benefits or mistakenly think their children aren't eligible. Also, in some States the application process is simply too daunting. As a nation, we must do more to reach out to these families so that their children will get health care coverage, too. I'm pleased to announce new rules that will make it easier to do that.

First, since our goal is to enroll more children, we have to go where the children are; that's the schools. Sixty percent of uninsured children nationwide are enrolled in school lunch programs. Under the new rules I'm announcing today, States will be able to use school lunch enrollment data in order to contact families who may be eligible for assistance with health insurance.

Second, under these new rules parents will now be able to enroll their children in CHIP or Medicaid the moment they fill out an application at child care centers, school nurse offices, and other convenient places. No longer will they have to wait weeks or even months, while their applications are being processed, before they can get health care for their children.

Third, these new rules will make it possible for more employers to provide health coverage to the children of their low wage employees, with much of the cost picked up by CHIP.

With 3.3 million children now enrolled in CHIP, we're getting closer than ever to the goal I set 4 years ago of providing 5 million uninsured children with health coverage. With the new rules I've announced today, we've now done all we can at the Federal level to help meet that goal. It's now up to the States to do their part and to the parents, too.

So if you have a child without health insurance, call this toll-free number: 1-877-KIDS-NOW. That's 1-877-KIDS-NOW, for more information. If we all work together, we can make certain that our children get the health care they need to make the most of their lives in this wondrous new century.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 11:44 a.m. on January 5 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on January 6. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 5 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast.

**Message to the Congress
Transmitting Proposed Legislation
To Implement the Jordan-United
States Free Trade Agreement**
January 6, 2001

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit a legislative proposal to implement the Agreement between the United States of America and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on the Establishment of a Free Trade Area. Also transmitted is a section-by-section analysis.

The U.S.-Jordan Free Trade Agreement (FTA) provides critical support for a pivotal regional partner for U.S. efforts in the Middle East peace process. Jordan has taken extraordinary steps on behalf of peace and has served as a moderating and progressive force in the region. This Agreement not only sends a strong and concrete message to Jordanians and Jordan's neighbors about the economic benefits of peace, but significantly contributes to stability throughout the region. This Agreement is the capstone of our economic partnership with Jordan, which has also included U.S.-Jordanian cooperation on Jordan's accession to the World Trade Orga-

nization (WTO), our joint Trade and Investment Framework Agreement, and our Bilateral Investment Treaty. This Agreement is a vote of confidence in Jordan's economic reform program, which should serve as a source of growth and opportunity for Jordanians in the coming years.

The U.S.-Jordan Free Trade Agreement achieves the highest possible commitments from Jordan on behalf of U.S. business on key trade issues, providing significant and extensive liberalization across a wide spectrum of trade issues. For example, it will eliminate all tariffs on industrial goods and agricultural products within 10 years. The FTA covers all agriculture without exception. The Agreement will also eliminate commercial barriers to bilateral trade in services originating in the United States and Jordan. Specific liberalization has been achieved in many key services sectors, including energy distribution, convention, printing and publishing, courier, audiovisual, education, environmental, financial, health, tourism, and transport services.

In the area of intellectual property rights, the U.S.-Jordan Free Trade Agreement builds on the strong commitments Jordan made in acceding to the WTO. The provisions of the FTA incorporate the most up-to-date international standards for copyright protection, as well as protection for confidential test data for pharmaceuticals and agricultural chemicals and stepped-up commitments on enforcement. Among other things, Jordan has undertaken to ratify and implement the World Intellectual Property Organization's (WIPO) Copyright Treaty and WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty within 2 years.

The FTA also includes, for the first time ever in the text of a trade agreement, a set of substantive provisions on electronic commerce. Both countries agreed to seek to avoid imposing customs duties on electronic transmissions, imposing unnecessary barriers to market access for digitized products, and impeding the ability to deliver services through electronic means. These provisions also tie in with commitments in the services area that, taken together, aim at encouraging investment in new technologies and stimulating the innovative uses of networks to deliver products and services.

The FTA joins free trade and open markets with civic responsibilities. In this Agreement, the United States and Jordan affirm the importance of not relaxing labor or environmental laws in order to increase trade. It is important to note that the FTA does not require either country to adopt any new laws in these areas, but rather includes commitments that each country enforce its own labor and environmental laws.

The U.S.-Jordan Free Trade Agreement will help advance the long-term U.S. objective of fostering greater Middle East regional economic integration in support of the establishment of a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace, while providing greater market access for U.S. goods, services, and investment. I urge the prompt and favorable consideration of this legislation.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
January 6, 2001.

Remarks at the Foundry United Methodist Church

January 7, 2001

Reverend Wogaman, staff, choir, congregation of this wonderful church. I would like to thank many people in this audience, but if I might, a few by name.

My good friend Bishop May, and Mrs. May, thank you for being here. My councilman, Mr. Evans, and Mrs. Evans, thank you so much for your friendship and for being here. [*Laughter*] Senator Max Cleland, my friend of many years, before either one of us were in our present positions—surprising all but our mothers by our success. [*Laughter*] I am so proud of you, sir, and I thank you for all you have done.

I think of this church when reading the words of Paul that Hillary cited earlier, speaking of his gratitude to the Thessalonians, or constantly remembering their work of faith, their labor of love, their steadfastness of hope. I thank Foundry for all that and for being a church home to my family these last 8 years.

I thank especially those of you who were so kind to Chelsea over the years, who provided her opportunities to participate in the

life of the church, especially in the Appalachia service project, from which she learned so much. I thank those of you who have taken special care to befriend Hillary and to support her. And I thank you especially for the wonderful welcome you gave her last week, when she came back here for the first time as a Senator-to-be.

I thank you all for your prayers and your welcome to all of us in the storm and sunshine of these last 8 years. I will always have wonderful memories of every occasion where we passed the peace, for all the people, young and old, who came up to me and said a kind word of welcome, to remind me that no matter what was going on in Washington, DC, at the moment, there was a real world out there with real people and real hearts and minds reaffirming the timeless wisdom of de Tocqueville's observation so long ago, that America is great because America is good. You cannot imagine the peace, the comfort, the strength I have drawn from my Sundays here. I want to thank you for a few other things.

For the social mission of this church, especially for your outreach to the homeless, which I have been honored to support. And for your constant support of my efforts to bring peace in the Middle East and Kosovo and Northern Ireland and the other trouble spots of the world, where there are people suffering who have no money or power, too often overlooked by great nations with great interests.

I want to thank you for making Foundry a true community church, welcoming Christians from all races and all nations with all kinds of abilities and disabilities, some seen and some not. I thank you especially for the kindness and courage of Foundry's welcome to gay and lesbian Christians, people who should not feel outside the family of God.

I thank you for your support for the city of Washington, for its economic and social revitalization, which I have done my best to speed, and for giving its citizens the political equality and statehood I have always believed that it deserved, as my license plate shows—[*laughter*—and will for at least a couple more weeks. [*Laughter*]

Especially, I would like to thank Reverend Wogaman for being my pastor and friend,

my counselor and teacher. Most of you know that for more than 2 years now, he and two other minister friends of mine have shared the burden of meeting with me on a weekly basis. It has been an immense blessing to me and to my service as President.

Two weeks from yesterday, at high noon, I will relinquish my office, doing so with a heart filled with gratitude, gratitude to the American people for the chance to serve and to leave our country with more opportunity, stronger bonds of community, and a more positive impact in the larger world, at the dawn of a new century and a whole new aspect of human affairs.

Our Nation has come a long way together these last 8 years, and I am profoundly grateful to have had the opportunity to play a part in it. In the years ahead, America may have Presidents who do this job better than I have. But I really doubt we'll ever have another one who enjoyed it more than I have. [Laughter]

Well, those are my reflections. I didn't know what the title of my sermon was until I picked up the program, as I walked into church. [Laughter]

What do I anticipate? I anticipate that my Christian bearing will be tested by a return to commercial air travel—[laughter]—where I will reap the rewards of not having succeeded in one of the things I tried very hard to do, which was to end all those backlogs.

I anticipate that for some several months I will be disoriented when I walk into large rooms, because no one will be playing a song anymore. [Laughter] I look forward to finding out whether John Quincy Adams was right when he said, "There is nothing so pathetic in life as an ex-President"—[laughter]—or whether, instead of his words, the life of John Quincy Adams and the life of Jimmy Carter prove exactly the reverse.

In the next chapter of my life I will do my best to use the incredible opportunities my country has given me to be a good citizen here at home and around the world, to advance the causes I believe in, and to lift the fortunes and hopes of those who deserve a better hand than they have been dealt, whether in Africa, Asia, Latin America, or Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta, the inner cities, or the Native American reservations.

I will try every day to remember—as apparently for the first time in my life I will be able to earn a sizable income—[laughter]—that Christ admonished us that our lives will be judged by how we do unto the least of our neighbors.

I will also do my best to keep working for peace and reconciliation among people across their differences, to find ways to get people to move beyond tolerance to celebration of those differences. I know it's sort of out of fashion, but I've kind of grown impatient with the word "tolerance," because tolerance implies that someone who's better than someone else is decent enough to put up with them. And I think we need to move beyond that.

We are moving into the most incredible era of human affairs the world has ever known, in terms of our interdependence, our capacity to relate to people across national and cultural and religious lines, and our ability to use these breathtaking advances in technology with advances in biomedical sciences to lengthen and improve lives in ways that previously are literally unimaginable.

And yet, the biggest threat we face is the oldest problem of humankind, the fear of the other, which can so easily lead to hatred and dehumanization and violence but, even if it doesn't go that far, limits the lives all of us might otherwise live.

And I have spent a lot of time, as you might have noticed, in a reasonably combative arena. I am not without my competitive instincts. A lot of days I thought just showing up was an act of competition. [Laughter] But I do believe in the end, when all is said and done, what matters most is what we did that was common to our humanity. And somehow, I will do everything I can to advance that simple but powerful idea at home and around the world.

I will also do my best to support my Senator and our daughter. And I will try to keep learning and growing, working to follow the example of the mythic Parsifal, a good man slowly wise.

Thanks to the good people of New York, as Phil said, this is not really a goodbye but the beginning of a new chapter in our lives with Foundry. But it is a new chapter. So

let me thank you again for letting all of us, Hillary, Chelsea, and me, make this part of our life's journey with you, for your constant reminder in ways large and small that though we have all fallen short of the glory, we are all redeemed by faith in a loving God.

God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. J. Philip Wogaman, senior minister, Foundry United Methodist Church; Bishop Felton Edwin May, Washington Episcopal Area of the Methodist Church; and Washington, DC, City Councilmember Jack Evans, Ward 2, and his wife, Noel Soderberg Evans. Rev. Wogaman also serves as a spiritual counselor to the President, along with Rev. Gordon MacDonald and Rev. Tony Campolo.

Remarks at a Tribute to Senator Hillary Clinton in New York City

January 7, 2001

The President. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. First, let me say what a wonderful thing it is for Hillary and Chelsea and me to be here with Al and Tipper and with all of you.

I want to be brief today because this is Hillary's day, and it's also a day when she very much wanted the Vice President and Mrs. Gore to come here and receive from you the kind of welcome that I knew you'd give them and that they deserved. I'm so proud of them.

You know, I'm kind of tickled about living in New York. I feel the way Garrison Keillor does about Lake Wobegon. *[Laughter]* I was up here listening to that great church choir, and then our friends Jessye Norman and Toni Morrison and Billy Joel, and how magnificent they were. Then we got the score in the ball game, and I thought, here I am in New York, where all the artists, writers, and athletic teams are above average—*[laughter]*—and all the voters get their votes counted. *[Laughter]*

So I thank you. I thank Judith Hope for her strong leadership. I thank Charlie Rangel for 8 years of wonderful partnership. I thank Chuck Schumer for taking me into his home in 1992, when I was running the first time, with his wonderful wife; and then for taking

me through Queens, letting me see people and places I might never have otherwise seen, and for running in 1998, which everybody thought would be a bad year. It turned out to be a pretty good one, thanks to Chuck Schumer's guts and drive, and he is great.

I'm looking forward—I hate it that I've got to wait 2 more years, but I'm looking forward to Charlie Rangel being the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. When that happens, you mark my words, it'll be the best show in America off Broadway. *[Laughter]*

I do want to say just very briefly a serious word of appreciation to the Vice President and to Mrs. Gore. I thank her for, from the time of the first bus ride that, as Al said, we took here, keeping the rest of us in a good humor, always seeing the glass as half full, always caring about our families as well as our politics, and always sticking up for people who others had forgotten, whether they were people with mental illnesses or homeless people or others, reminding me always that I had to be their President, too. I am grateful to her.

And as I've said many times, and as has already been said here today, there's no question that in the history of the Republic, no person has had such a positive impact on the American people from the Office of Vice President that Al Gore has had. It's not even close—not even close.

I told somebody, he had more influence and did more things—whether it was manage our technology policy, our environmental policy, giving all the poor schools the opportunity to hook up to the Internet, helping to supervise our reorganization of the space program, trying to do something about all the terrible congestion at the airports, dealing with big chunks of our foreign policy—nobody ever had so much responsibility before. And I was showing up for work every day, too. *[Laughter]* I'm really proud of him in ways that you will never know.

He has shown us all, in the last 2 months, under circumstances which have never before existed in our country—and I pray to God never will again—how we should all behave as Americans and patriots. I honor him for my friendship, for his advice, for his leadership, for what he's done for America for 8 years, but in the last 8 weeks, he's shown

us the strength of character that very few of us could emulate if we were in the same circumstances.

Now, I would also like to thank the people of New York who helped Hillary to win this race. She did, as Chuck Schumer said, win it the old-fashioned way: She earned it. But she wouldn't have earned it if you hadn't helped her, if you had shut her out and shut her down and turned away from her. I'd like to thank the people who helped her on Long Island, where the going was toughest. I'd like to thank the people who helped her in upstate New York and proved it wasn't so Republican, after all.

I'd like to thank those of you who had me to your counties in upstate New York. I had a lot of fun being there, and I hope we all did some good together. I want to thank the people in this magnificent city for how good you have been to Hillary and to all of us. I want to thank you for making Chelsea feel welcome. She did a pretty good job for her mother, too, up here campaigning. I think—made a lot of votes, I think.

And I want to thank you for making it possible for me to give my wife good advice about how to run in New York. Everybody said how mean it was going to be. Do you remember what you did to me in the Democratic primary here in 1992? *[Laughter]* I said, "Hillary, look, these people are really good, but they just want to see how bad you can take a beating." *[Laughter]* "And they will beat you up and beat up you and beat you up and take off your shoes and make you walk on coals"—*[laughter]*—"make you lie down on a bed of pins and needles. But if you just keep smiling, they'll know you got it, and they will come."

I'm so proud of her, because she not only laid out a vision for what she wanted to do; she did it in a way that was consistently big and generous, that didn't descend to the level of her attackers. And when New York did to her what New York does and she passed, then you came. And I told her all along—she can tell you—I told her for 16 months, I said, "Trust me. If you are just even on the weekend before the election, you're going to win big. They will come to you in droves, if you just be big and stay right." And

you proved that I was right about you, and I am grateful. *[Laughter]*

But I had that awful primary experience to shore up my gratitude and know what was going to happen. *[Laughter]*

Now, the last thing I'd like to say is this. In 13 days, at high noon, I'm going to give up being President.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Wait a minute, hey. You can "boo" about the nature of the transfer, but not about me giving it up. I've had my time—*[laughter]*—and I had a very good time.

And what I want to remind you of is that politics is not about the politicians; it's about the people. And I am honored to become a citizen of New York. I will do my best to be a good one. And if you need to, call me sort of a de facto case worker for your Senator here. *[Laughter]* I want to get around the State and go upstate and do what I can to help Hillary fulfill the commitments that she and Chuck have made to help the upstate economy and to help the neighborhoods here.

And I want to thank Senator Schumer and Congressman Rangel for passing the new markets initiative Al Gore and I worked so hard on, to build on the empowerment zone proposal that Al ran so well for nearly 8 years, to keep the economy going.

So we want to work. I want to be a good citizen to you. But I want you to remember that Hillary ran and won because of you—not because of her—because of your children and your future and what we want to do together.

So the last thing I want to ask you to do is, I want you to keep your heart burning for 2 years to make Charlie the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. I want you to remember not only for 4 years, but for the rest of your life, what happened in the elections 2000 and what Al Gore did in the 8 weeks afterwards.

But I want most of all for you to remember that America's work and New York's work is never done. And I want you to help my wife do a good job at what she ran for, which was to give people like you and people outside this hall, who will never be in a meeting like this, the chance to make the most of their

lives and their children's lives. That's what I want to ask you more. You've given her a great gift. Now help her use it for the purpose it was intended.

Last Wednesday, when Hillary was sworn into the Senate, I believe that Chelsea and I were the two happiest people on the planet: Chelsea, because she loves her mother and she's proud of her; me, for the same reasons, but also because when I met Hillary nearly 30 years ago now—2 more months, 30 years ago—I thought that she had more capacity and more heart for public service than anybody I had ever met. And I worried when we started our lives together that somehow I would limit her service.

Your giving her this chance, in my mind, has reaffirmed the wisdom she made in moving to be with me so long ago and all the many roles she's played in giving to others and never asking for anything for herself until she made this race. And I can tell you this, you will not be disappointed, because I was right about her 30 years ago.

Thank you. God bless you.

Now, Mr. Vice President, please reenact the ceremony.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. at Madison Square Garden. In his remarks, he referred to soprano Jessye Norman; author Toni Morrison; musician Billy Joel; and Judith Hope, chair, New York State Democratic Party; Garrison Keillor, host of "Prairie Home Companion"; and Senator Schumer's wife, Iris Weinshall. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Senator Hillary Clinton and Vice President Al Gore.

Remarks at an Israel Policy Forum Dinner in New York City

January 7, 2001

Thank you very much. Thank you. I want to thank all of you for making me feel so welcome tonight and also for making Hillary and Chelsea feel welcome. I thank Michael Sonnenfeldt, who, like me, is going out after 8 years—[*laughter*—] and will doubtless find some other useful activity. But he has done a superb job, and I'm very grateful to him.

I thank my friend Jack Bendheim for his many kindnesses to me and to Hillary. Yes-

terday he had a birthday, and now, like me, he's 54. Unlike me, he has enough children to be elected President of the United States. [*Laughter*] And he's had a wonderful family and a wonderful life, and I'm delighted that he's so active in the Israel Policy Forum. I'd like to thank Judith Stern Peck for making me feel so welcome and for her leadership.

I thank Lesley Stahl. It's good to see you, and thank you for your kind remarks. I thank the many Members of Congress who are here and also the members of my Middle East peace team. Secretary Albright and Sandy Berger and others have been introduced, but Secretary Dan Glickman is here, and Kerry Kennedy Cuomo is here, and I thank them for being here.

I want to thank the New York officials who are here—Carl McCall, Mark Green, and any others who may be in the crowd—for your many kindnesses to me over the last 8 years. New York has been great to me and Al Gore and even greater to my wife on election day, so I thank you for that.

We just reenacted her swearing-in at Madison Square Garden. And I was reminded of one of the many advantages of living in New York: Jessye Norman sang; Toni Morrison read; and Billy Joel sang. Meanwhile, at least at half time, the Giants were ahead. [*Laughter*] And so I said, I felt sort of like Garrison Keillor did about Lake Wobegon. I was glad to be in New York where all the writers, artists, and sports teams were above average—[*laughter*—] and all the votes were always counted. [*Laughter*]

Let me also say a word of warm welcome and profound respect to the Speaker of the Knesset, Speaker Burg, for his wonderful and kind comments to me, and to Cabinet Secretary Herzog, for his message from the Government of Israel. I want to say a little more about that in a moment.

I want to congratulate Dwayne Andreas, my good friend—I wish he were here tonight—and thank him for his many kindnesses to me. Congratulations, Louis Perlmutter; Susan Stern, who has been such a great friend to Hillary, and you gave a good talk tonight. I think you've got a real future in this business. And your mother sat by me, and she gave you a good grade, too. [*Laughter*]

And Alan Solomont, who has done as much for me as, I suppose, any American, and he and Susan and their children have been great friends, and I thank you for what you've done, sir. I thank all of you.

I'd also like to say how much I appreciated and was moved by the words of Prime Minister Barak. He was dealt the hard hand by history. And he came to office with absolute conviction that in the end, Israel could not be secure unless a just and lasting peace could be reached with its neighbors, beginning with the Palestinians; that if that turned out not to be possible, then the next best thing was to be as strong as possible and as effective in the use of that strength. But his knowledge of war has fed a passion for peace. And his understanding of the changing technology of war has made him more passionate, not because he thinks the existence of Israel is less secure—if anything, it's more secure—but because the sophisticated weapons available to terrorists today mean even though they still lose, they can exact a higher price along the way.

I've been in enough political fights in my life to know that sometimes you just have to do the right thing, and it may work out, and it may not. Most people thought I had lost my mind when we passed the economic plan to get rid of the deficit in 1993. And no one in the other party voted for it, and they just talked about how it would bring the world to an end and America's economy would be a disaster. I think the only Republican who thought it would work was Alan Greenspan. *[Laughter]* He was relieved of the burden of having to say anything about it.

But no dilemma I have ever faced approximates in difficulty or comes close to the choice that Prime Minister Barak had to make when he took office. He realized that he couldn't know for sure what the final intentions of the Palestinian leadership were without testing them. He further realized that even if the intentions were there, there was a lot of competition among the Palestinians and from outside forces, from people who are enemies of peace because they don't give a rip how the ordinary Palestinians have to live and they're pursuing a whole different agenda.

He knew nine things could go wrong and only one thing could go right. But he promised himself that he would have to try. And as long as he knew Israel in the end could defend itself and maintain its security, he would keep taking risks. And that's what he's done, down to these days. There may be those who disagree with him, but he has demonstrated as much bravery in the office of Prime Minister as he ever did on the field of battle, and no one should ever question that.

Now, I imagine this has been a tough time for those of you who have been supporting the IPF out of conviction for a long time. All the dreams we had in '93 that were revived when we had the peace with Jordan, revived again when we had the Wye River accords—that was, I think, the most interesting peace talk I was ever involved in. My strategy was the same used to break prisoners of war: I just didn't let anybody sleep for 9 days, and finally, out of exhaustion, we made a deal—just so people could go home and go to bed. *[Laughter]* I've been looking for an opportunity to employ it again, ever since.

There have been a lot of positive things, and I think it's worth remembering that there have been positive developments along the way. But this is heartbreaking, what we've been through these last few months, for all of you who have believed for 8 years in the Oslo process, all of you whose hearts soared on September 13, 1993,* when Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin signed that agreement.

For over 3 months, we have lived through a tragic cycle of violence that has cost hundreds of lives. It has shattered the confidence in the peace process. It has raised questions in some people's minds about whether Palestinians and Israelis could ever really live and work together, support each other's peace and prosperity and security. It's been a heartbreaking time for me, too. But we have done our best to work with the parties to restore calm, to end the bloodshed, and to get back to working on an agreement to address the underlying causes that continuously erupt in conflicts.

Whatever happens in the next 2 weeks I've got to serve, I think it's appropriate for me

* White House correction.

tonight, before a group of Americans and friends from the Middle East who believe profoundly in the peace process and have put their time and heart and money where their words are, to reflect on the lessons I believe we've all learned over the last 8 years and how we can achieve the long sought peace.

From my first day as President, we have worked to advance interests in the Middle East that are long standing and historically bipartisan. I was glad to hear of Senator Hagel's recitation of President-elect Bush's commitment to peace in the Middle East. Those historic commitments include an iron-clad commitment to Israel's security and a just, comprehensive, and lasting agreement between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

Along the way, since '93, through the positive agreements that have been reached between those two sides, through the peace between Israel and Jordan, through last summer's withdrawal from Lebanon in which Israel fulfilled its part of implementing U.N. Security Council Resolution 425—along this way we have learned some important lessons, not only because of the benchmarks of progress, because of the occasional eruption of terrorism, bombing, death, and then these months of conflict.

I think these lessons have to guide any effort, now or in the future, to reach a comprehensive peace. Here's what I think they are. Most of you probably believed in them, up to the last 3 months. I still do.

First, the Arab-Israeli conflict is not just a morality play between good and evil; it is a conflict with a complex history, whose resolution requires balancing the needs of both sides, including respect for their national identities and religious beliefs.

Second, there is no place for violence and no military solution to this conflict. The only path to a just and durable resolution is through negotiation.

Third, there will be no lasting peace or regional stability without a strong and secure Israel, secure enough to make peace, strong enough to deter the adversaries which will still be there, even if a peace is made in complete good faith. And clearly that is why the United States must maintain its commitment to preserving Israel's qualitative edge in military superiority.

Fourth, talks must be accompanied by acts—acts which show trust and partnership. For good will at the negotiating table cannot survive forever ill intent on the ground. And it is important that each side understands how the other reads actions. For example, on the one hand, the tolerance of violence and incitement of hatred in classrooms and the media in the Palestinian communities, or on the other hand, humiliating treatment on the streets or at checkpoints by Israelis, are real obstacles to even getting people to talk about building a genuine peace.

Fifth, in the resolution of remaining differences, whether they come today or after several years of heartbreak and bloodshed, the fundamental, painful, but necessary choices will almost certainly remain the same whenever the decision is made. The parties will face the same history, the same geography, the same neighbors, the same passions, the same hatreds. This is not a problem time will take care of.

And I would just like to go off the script here, because a lot of you have more personal contacts than I do with people that will be dealing with this for a long time to come, whatever happens in the next 2 weeks.

Among the really profound and difficult problems of the world that I have dealt with, I find that they tend to fall into two categories. And if I could use sort of a medical analogy, some are like old wounds with scabs on them, and some are like abscessed teeth.

What do I mean by that? Old wounds with scabs eventually will heal if you just leave them alone. And if you fool with them too much, you might open the scab and make them worse. Abscessed teeth, however, will only get worse if you leave them alone, and if you wait and wait and wait, they'll just infect the whole rest of your mouth.

Northern Ireland, I believe, is becoming more like the scab. There are very difficult things. If you followed my trip over there, you know I was trying to help them resolve some of their outstanding problems, and we didn't get it all done. But what I really wanted to do was to remind people of the benefits of peace and to keep everybody in a good frame of mind and going on so that all the politicians know that if they really let the

wheel run off over there, the people will throw them out on their ears.

Now, why is that? Because the Irish Republic is now the fastest growing economy in Europe, and Northern Ireland is the fastest growing economy within the United Kingdom. So the people are benefiting from peace, and they can live with the fact that they can't quite figure out what to do about the police force and the reconciliation of the various interests and passions of the Protestants and Catholics, and the other three or four things, because the underlying reality has changed their lives. So even though I wish I could solve it all, eventually it will heal, if it just keeps going in the same direction.

The Middle East is not like that. Why? Because there are all these independent actors—that is, independent of the Palestinian Authority and not under the direct control of any international legal body—who don't want this peace to work. So that even if we can get an agreement and the Palestinian Authority works as hard as they can and the Israelis work as hard as they can, we're all going to have to pitch in, send in an international force like we did in the Sinai, and hang tough, because there are enemies of peace out there, number one.

Number two, because the enemies of peace know they can drive the Israelis to close the borders if they can blow up enough bombs. They do it periodically to make sure that the Palestinians in the street cannot enjoy the benefits of peace that have come to the people in Northern Ireland. So as long as they can keep the people miserable and they can keep the fundamental decisions from being made, they still have a hope, the enemies of peace, of derailing the whole thing. That's why it's more like an abscessed tooth.

The fundamental realities are not going to be changed by delays. And that's why I said what I did about Ehud Barak. I know that—I don't think it's appropriate for the United States to deal with anybody else's politics, but I know why—you can't expect poll ratings to be very good when the voters in the moment wonder if they're going to get peace or security and think they can no longer have both and may have to choose one. I understand that.

But I'm telling you, the reason he has continued to push ahead on this is that he has figured out, this is one of those political problems that is like the abscessed tooth. The realities are not going to change. We can wait until all these handsome young people at this table are the same age as the honorees tonight, and me. We can wait until they've got kids their age and we've got a whole lot more bodies and a lot more funerals, a lot more crying and a lot more hatred, and I'll swear the decisions will still be the same ones that will have to be made that have to be made today.

That's the fundamental deal here. And this is a speech I have given, I might add, to all my Israeli friends who question what we have done, and to the Palestinians, and in private—God forgive me, my language is sometimes somewhat more graphic than it has been tonight. But anybody that ever kneeled at the grave of a person who died in the Middle East knows that what we've been through these last 3 months is not what Yitzhak Rabin died for and not what I went to Gaza 2 years ago to speak to the Palestinian National Council for either, for that matter.

So those are the lessons I think are still operative, and I'm a little concerned that we could draw the wrong lessons from this tragic, still relatively brief, chapter in the history of the Middle East. The violence does not demonstrate that the quest for peace has gone too far or too fast. It demonstrates what happens when you've got a problem that is profoundly difficult and you never quite get to the end, so there is no settlement, no resolution, anxiety prevailed, and at least some people never get any concrete benefits out of it.

And I believe that the last few months demonstrate the futility of force or terrorism as an ultimate solution. That's what I believe. I think the last few months show that unilateralism will exacerbate, not abate, mutual hostility. I believe that the violence confirms the need to do more to prepare both publics for the requirements of peace, not to condition people for the so-called glory of further conflict.

Now, what are we going to do now? The first priority, obviously, has got to be to drastically reduce the current cycle of violence.

But beyond that, on the Palestinian side, there must be an end to the culture of violence and the culture of incitement that, since Oslo, has not gone unchecked. Young children still are being educated to believe in confrontation with Israel, and multiple militia-like groups carry and use weapons with impunity. Voices of reason in that kind of environment will be drowned out too often by voices of revenge.

Such conduct is inconsistent with the Palestinian leadership's commitment to Oslo's nonviolent path to peace, and its persistence sends the wrong message to the Israeli people and makes it much more difficult for them to support their leaders in making the compromises necessary to get a lasting agreement.

For their part, the Israeli people also must understand that they're creating a few problems, too; that the settlement enterprise and building bypass roads in the heart of what they already know will one day be part of a Palestinian state is inconsistent with the Oslo commitment that both sides negotiate a compromise.

And restoring confidence requires the Palestinians being able to lead a normal existence and not be subject to daily, often humiliating reminders that they lack basic freedom and control over their lives.

These, too, make it harder for the Palestinians to believe the commitments made to them will be kept. Can two peoples with this kind of present trouble and troubling history still conclude a genuine and lasting peace? I mean, if I gave you this as a soap opera, you would say they're going to divorce court. But they can't, because they share such a small piece of land with such a profound history of importance to more than a billion people around the world. So I believe with all my heart not only that they can, but that they must.

At Camp David I saw Israeli and Palestinian negotiators who knew how many children each other had, who knew how many grandchildren each other had, who knew how they met their spouses, who knew what their family tragedies were, who trusted each other in their word. It was almost shocking to see what could happen and how people still felt on the ground when I saw how their

leaders felt about each other and the respect and the confidence they had in each other when they were talking.

The alternative to getting this peace done is being played out before our very eyes. But amidst the agony, I will say again, there are signs of hope. And let me try to put this into what I think is a realistic context.

Camp David was a transformative event, because the two sides faced the core issue of their dispute in a forum that was official for the first time. And they had to debate the tradeoffs required to resolve the issues. Just as Oslo forced Israelis and Palestinians to come to terms with each other's existence, the discussions of the past 6 months have forced them to come to terms with each other's needs and the contours of a peace that ultimately they will have to reach.

That's why Prime Minister Barak, I think, has demonstrated real courage and vision in moving toward peace in difficult circumstances while trying to find a way to continue to protect Israel's security and vital interests. So that's a fancy way of saying, we know what we have to do and we've got a mess on our hands.

So where do we go from here? Given the impasse and the tragic deterioration on the ground a couple of weeks ago, both sides asked me to present my ideas. So I put forward parameters that I wanted to be guide toward a comprehensive agreement; parameters based on 8 years of listening carefully to both sides and hearing them describe with increasing clarity their respective grievances and needs.

Both Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat have now accepted these parameters as the basis for further efforts, though both have expressed some reservations. At their request, I am using my remaining time in office to narrow the differences between the parties to the greatest degree possible—[*applause*]*—for which I deserve no applause. Believe me, it beats packing up all my old books. [Laughter]*

The parameters I put forward contemplate a settlement in response to each side's essential needs, if not to their utmost desires. A settlement based on sovereign homelands, security, peace and dignity for both Israelis and Palestinians. These parameters don't

begin to answer every question; they just narrow the questions that have to be answered.

Here they are. First, I think there can be no genuine resolution to the conflict without a sovereign, viable, Palestinian state that accommodates Israeli's security requirements and the demographic realities. That suggests Palestinian sovereignty over Gaza, the vast majority of the West Bank, the incorporation into Israel of settlement blocks, with the goal of maximizing the number of settlers in Israel while minimizing the land annex for Palestine to be viable must be a geographically contiguous state.

Now, the land annexed into Israel into settlement blocks should include as few Palestinians as possible, consistent with the logic of two separate homelands. And to make the agreement durable, I think there will have to be some territorial swaps and other arrangements.

Second, a solution will have to be found for the Palestinian refugees who have suffered a great deal—particularly some of them—a solution that allows them to return to a Palestinian state that will provide all Palestinians with a place they can safely and proudly call home. All Palestinian refugees who wish to live in this homeland should have the right to do so. All others who want to find new homes, whether in their current locations or in third countries, should be able to do so, consistent with those countries' sovereign decisions, and that includes Israel.

All refugees should receive compensation from the international community for their losses and assistance in building new lives.

Now, you all know what the rub is. That was a lot of artful language for saying that you cannot expect Israel to acknowledge an unlimited right of return to present day Israel and, at the same time, to give up Gaza and the West Bank and have the settlement blocks as compact as possible, because of where a lot of these refugees came from. We cannot expect Israel to make a decision that would threaten the very foundations of the state of Israel and would undermine the whole logic of peace. And it shouldn't be done.

But I have made it very clear that the refugees will be a high priority, and that the United States will take a lead in raising the

money necessary to relocate them in the most appropriate manner. If the Government of Israel or a subsequent Government of Israel ever—will be in charge of their immigration policy, just as we and the Canadians and the Europeans and others who would offer Palestinians a home would be, they would be obviously free to do that, and I think they've indicated that they would do that, to some extent. But there cannot be an unlimited language in an agreement that would undermine the very foundations of the Israeli state or the whole reason for creating the Palestinian state. So that's what we're working on.

Third, there will be no peace and no peace agreement unless the Israeli people have lasting security guarantees. These need not and should not come at the expense of Palestinian sovereignty, or interfere with Palestinian territorial integrity. So my parameters rely on an international presence in Palestine to provide border security along the Jordan Valley and to monitor implementation of the final agreement. They rely on a non-militarized Palestine, a phased Israeli withdrawal to address Israeli security needs in the Jordan Valley, and other essential arrangements to ensure Israel's ability to defend itself.

Fourth, I come to the issue of Jerusalem, perhaps the most emotional and sensitive of all. It is a historic, cultural, and political center for both Israelis and Palestinians, a unique city sacred to all three monotheistic religions. And I believe the parameters I have established flow from four fair and logical propositions.

First, Jerusalem should be an open and undivided city with assured freedom of access and worship for all. It should encompass the internationally recognized capitals of two states, Israel and Palestine. Second, what is Arab should be Palestinian, for why would Israel want to govern in perpetuity the lives of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians? Third, what is Jewish should be Israeli. That would give rise to a Jewish Jerusalem, larger and more vibrant than any in history. Fourth, what is holy to both requires a special care to meet the needs of all. I was glad to hear what the Speaker said about that. No peace agreement will last if not premised on mutual

respect for the religious beliefs and holy shrines of Jews, Muslims, and Christians.

I have offered formulations on the Haram al-Sharif, and the area holy to the Jewish people, an area which for 2,000 years, as I said at Camp David, has been the focus of Jewish yearning, that I believed fairly addressed the concerns of both sides.

Fifth and, finally, any agreement will have to mark the decision to end the conflict, for neither side can afford to make these painful compromises, only to be subjected to further demands. They are both entitled to know that if they take the last drop of blood out of each other's turnip, that's it. It really will have to be the end of the struggle that has pitted Palestinians and Israelis against one another for too long. And the end of the conflict must manifest itself with concrete acts that demonstrate a new attitude and a new approach by Palestinians and Israelis toward each other, and by other states in the region toward Israel, and by the entire region toward Palestine, to help it get off to a good start.

The parties' experience with interim accords has not always been happy—too many deadlines missed, too many commitments unfulfilled on both sides. So for this to signify a real end of the conflict, there must be effective mechanisms to provide guarantees of implementation. That's a lot of stuff, isn't it? It's what I think is the outline of a fair agreement.

Let me say this. I am well aware that it will entail real pain and sacrifices for both sides. I am well aware that I don't even have to run for reelection in the United States on the basis of these ideas. I have worked for 8 years without laying such ideas down. I did it only when both sides asked me to and when it was obvious that we had come to the end of the road, and somebody had to do something to break out of the impasse.

Now, I still think the benefits of the agreement, based on these parameters, far outweigh the burdens. For the people of Israel, they are an end to conflict, secure and defensible borders, the incorporation of most of the settlers into Israel, and the Jewish capital of Yerushalayim, recognized by all, not just the United States, by everybody in the world. It's a big deal, and it needs to be done.

For the Palestinian people, it means the freedom to determine their own future on their own land, a new life for the refugees, an independent and sovereign state with Al-Quds as its capital, recognized by all. And for America, it means that we could have new flags flying over new Embassies in both these capitals.

Now that the sides have accepted the parameters with reservations, what's going to happen? Well, each side will try to do a little better than I did. *[Laughter]* You know, that's just natural. But a peace viewed as imposed by one party upon the other, that puts one side up and the other down, rather than both ahead, contains the seeds of its own destruction.

Let me say those who believe that my ideas can be altered to one party's exclusive benefit are mistaken. I think to press for more will produce less. There can be no peace without compromise. Now, I don't ask Israelis or Palestinians to agree with everything I said. If they can come up with a completely different agreement, it would suit me just fine. But I doubt it.

I have said what I have out of a profound lifetime commitment to and love for the state of Israel; out of a conviction that the Palestinian people have been ignored or used as political footballs by others for long enough, and they ought to have a chance to make their own life with dignity; and out of a belief that in the homeland of the world's three great religions that believe we are all the creatures of one God, we ought to be able to prove that one person's win is not, by definition, another's loss; that one person's dignity is not, by definition, another's humiliation; that one person's worship of God is not, by definition, another's heresy.

There has to be a way for us to find a truth we can share. There has to be a way for us to reach those young Palestinian kids who, unlike the young people in this audience, don't imagine a future in which they would ever put on clothes like this and sit at a dinner like this. There has to be a way for us to say to them, struggle and pain and destruction and self-destruction are way overrated and not the only option. There has to be a way for us to reach those people in Israel who have paid such a high price and

believe, frankly, that people who embrace the ideas I just outlined are nuts, because Israel is a little country and this agreement would make it smaller; to understand that the world in which we live and the technology of modern weaponry no longer make defense primarily a matter of geography and of politics; and the human feeling and the interdependence and the cooperation and the shared values and the shared interests are more important and worth the considered risk, especially if the United States remains committed to the military capacity of the state of Israel.

So I say to the Palestinians: There will always be those who are sitting outside in the peanut gallery of the Middle East, urging you to hold out for more or to plant one more bomb. But all the people who do that, they're not the refugees languishing in those camps; you are. They're not the ones with children growing up in poverty whose income is lower today than it was the day we had the signing on the White House Lawn in 1993; you are.

All the people that are saying to the Palestinian people: Stay on the path of no, are people that have a vested interest in the failure of the peace process that has nothing to do with how those kids in Gaza and the West Bank are going to grow up and live and raise their own children.

To the citizens of Israel who have returned to an ancient homeland after 2,000 years, whose hopes and dreams almost vanished in the Holocaust, who have hardly had one day of peace and quiet since the state of Israel was created, I understand, I believe, something of the disillusionment, the anger, the frustration that so many feel when, just at the moment peace seemed within reach, all this violence broke out and raised the question of whether it is ever possible.

The fact is that the people of Israel dreamed of a homeland. The dream came through, but when they came home, the land was not all vacant. Your land is also their land. It is the homeland of two people. And therefore, there is no choice but to create two states and make the best of it.

If it happens today, it will be better than if it happens tomorrow, because fewer people will die. And after it happens, the motives

of those who continue the violence will be clearer to all than they are today.

Today, Israel is closer than ever to ending a 100-year-long era of struggle. It could be Israel's finest hour. And I hope and pray that the people of Israel will not give up the hope of peace.

Now, I've got 13 days, and I'll do what I can. We're working with Egypt and the parties to try to end the violence. I'm sending Dennis Ross to the region this week. I met with both sides this week. I hope we can really do something. And I appreciate, more than I can say, the kind, personal things that you said about me.

But here's what I want you to think about. New York has its own high-tech corridor called Silicon Alley. The number one foreign recipient of venture capital from Silicon Alley is Israel. Palestinians who have come to the United States, to Chile, to Canada, to Europe, have done fabulously well in business, in the sciences, in academia.

If we could ever let a lot of this stuff go and realize that a lot of—that the enemies of peace in the Middle East are overlooking not only what the Jewish people have done beyond Israel but what has happened to the state of Israel since its birth, and how fabulously well the people of Palestinian descent have done everywhere else in the world except in their homeland, where they are in the grip of forces that have not permitted them to reconcile with one another and with the people of Israel. Listen, if you guys ever got together, 10 years from now we would all wonder what the heck happened for 30 years before.

And the center of energy and creativity and economic power and political influence in the entire region would be with the Israelis and the Palestinians because of their gifts. It could happen. But somebody has got to take the long leap, and they have to be somebodies on both sides.

All I can tell you is, whether you do it now or whether you do it later, whether I'm the President or just somebody in the peanut gallery, I'll be there, cheering and praying and working along the way. And I think America will be there. I think America will always be there for Israel's security. But Israel's lasting security rests in a just and lasting peace. I

pray that the day will come sooner, rather than later, where all the people of the region will see that they can share the wisdom of God in their common humanity and give up their conflict.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Michael W. Sonnenfeldt, chair, Jack Bendheim, president, and Susan Stern, vice president, Israel Policy Forum; Judith Stern Peck, former chair, United Jewish Appeal Federation of New York; dinner emcee Lesley Stahl; Kerry Kennedy Cuomo, wife of Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Andrew M. Cuomo; New York State Comptroller H. Carl McCall; Mark Green, New York City public advocate; musicians Jessye Norman and Billy Joel; author Toni Morrison; Garrison Keillor, host of "Prairie Home Companion"; Speaker of the Knesset Avraham Burg; Israeli Cabinet Secretary Yitzhak Herzog; dinner honorees Dwayne O. Andreas, chair, Archer Daniels Midland Company, Louis Perlmutter, former chair, Brandeis University, and Alan D. Solomont, chair and founder, A.D.S. Group; Mr. Solomont's wife, Susan; Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel; Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority; President-elect George W. Bush; and Ambassador David Ross, Special Middle East Coordinator. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks at the Rededication of the AFL-CIO Building

January 8, 2001

The President. Thank you. What do you think, Mom? She did a good job, didn't she? I thought she was great. [Laughter] When Susan said they would collectively bargain for ice cream, I thought to myself, it is only in large families that even John Sweeney would be against unionizing. [Laughter] No parents can stand against their united children, if there are enough of them. [Laughter]

Thank you, Susan. Thank you, John, for your friendship, your support, for bringing such incredible energy and direction to the labor movement; to all the officers of the AFL-CIO; and Maureen, thank you for your friendship; Mrs. Kirkland; Monsignor.

I would like to thank all the members of the labor movement, and I'd like to thank

all the members of my administration who support labor. John said there were too many to mention, and he'd get in trouble, but I want to also say a special thank you to Secretary Alexis Herman for being labor's friend and partner. Thank you.

I think it would be interesting, you know, maybe it's just that we don't have as much to do at the White House these days—[laughter]—but we have the largest turnout here of senior members of the administration for any event outside the White House we have ever held. So I would like to ask Mr. Podesta and Martin Baily and Kathy Shaw, from the CEA, and Bruce Reed and Steve Ricchetti and Gene, and Janice Lachance and Aida—everybody here who is part of the administration stand up—Karen, stand up. Everybody stand up, Chuck. Thank you.

You know, John, Karen Tramontano is going with me, and we're exploring whether you can unionize a former President's office. [Laughter]

AFL-CIO President John J. Sweeney. Karen will do it. [Laughter]

The President. We're ripe for organizing here.

I have so much to thank you for. I thank you for the work you did for the Vice President, for your pivotal roles in the victories in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and so many other places—yes, and Florida, and the victory in Florida, yes. [Laughter] You're taking my good joke away. [Laughter]

I also want to thank you, those of you from New York, for all you did for Hillary. I am very grateful to you for that. When she was sworn in last Wednesday, I can honestly say it was one of the happiest days of my life. I don't know when I've been that happy since Chelsea was born. And it wouldn't have happened if it hadn't been for so many of you who stuck with her and supported her, and I am very, very grateful.

Senator Kennedy, I would like to thank you for your friendship and your support. In ways that will probably never be a part of the public record, you have been my true friend for a long time, and I thank you.

This is a very emotional moment for me. We're thinking about the last 8 years; that's what you're thinking about. I'm thinking about the last 26 years. In 1974 I ran for

Congress in a district where, in 1972, President Nixon had defeated Senator McGovern 74–26. I ran against a Member of Congress who had an 85 percent approval rating when I started, and, obviously, a 99 percent name recognition. I was zero-zero.

I raised in this campaign about \$160,000, which was a fortune in 1974. And over \$40,000 of it came from the labor movement, which was a fortune in 1974. And I was one of the top 10 recipients of all House candidates of help from labor. I was 28 years old, and nobody thought I had a chance. It turned out, I didn't. [Laughter] But the truth is, I nearly won the race. We made it part of an overall referendum on the policies and direction of the National Republican. It basically made the rest of my career possible, and it could not have happened without the labor movement.

And I was sitting here thinking that people that really helped me then, most of them aren't around anymore. A man named Dan Powell, that a lot of you knew, who was then the head of the AFL–CIO region in Memphis; the Arkansas president, Bill Becker; the guy that ran the labor movement in west Arkansas, a guy named Dale Dee Porter. One of them is still here, though, Wayne Glenn. Thank you. He was there with me 26 years ago.

And every day for 26 years, almost—well, 27 years now; I started in January of '74—I have been profoundly grateful to the working people of my native State and this country for what you represent and what you stand for and for the fact that you not only have tried to help your own members, but you've also cared about the larger society.

When Susan was talking about her family and then she kind of morphed her remarks into her union, I thought it was a beautiful thing because we all really believe that our country and our unions and our workplaces ought to work the way our families do when they work best.

All worthy endeavors, including politics, are team sports. And it doesn't matter how good the quarterback is or the best player on the team; if you don't have a team, you can't win. And I will say again, I don't even have the words to tell you how profoundly

grateful I am for more than a quarter century of being able to be your teammate.

John quoted from George Meany's speech, and there were a few moments there, when he started talking about court decisions, I wondered if it was really John changing the words. [Laughter] Then I realized that Mr. Meany was defending a court decision, not attacking one.

The mission that was articulated by George Meany in 1955 has endured. The AFL–CIO still leads the country in its efforts to improve the lives of its members and all working Americans, as well, to bring economic, social, and political justice to the work place, but also to the Nation and, increasingly, to the world beyond our borders. Thanks to vigorous leadership, rejuvenated organizing efforts, and strong grassroots support, you are on a roll.

This building is a symbol of today's labor movement. It's on the same foundations you started, but you've modernized it for a new age. You've adapted to the new challenges and new opportunities. You're looking to the future. And I hope we can be part of that future together.

You know, I got tickled when Susan said she thought she was going to introduce Hillary. I thought, for gosh sakes, I've only got 12 days until I'm a has-been. [Laughter] Just 12 days to being a has-been, let me enjoy my 12 days. [Laughter]

The truth is that we're all going to do fine in this new century if we stick with what we've done these last 8 years. If we keep having open and honest debates, what John called differences of the head, but we focus on the basic mission: empowering workers, strengthening families and communities, embracing change, but in a way that is consistent with our values. We've been working on this for some time now. It turns out it worked pretty well.

In October 1992, when I spoke to you as a candidate for President, I said I wanted us to build an America where labor and management, business and government, and education worked together to create a high-wage, high-growth society. That's the America we worked to build for 8 years now. And along the way, we disproved an idea that the other side had relentlessly promoted for a

dozen years, which is that when labor is at the table, the economy is weakened, and the only way America would have a healthy business environment is if government was regularly condemned and labor was regularly weakened. It turned out not to be true.

Now, it's going to be interesting to see, now that they have a certain influence over the course of America's affairs, whether they acknowledge that in the last 8 years we proved that America is better off when labor and business and government work together for the welfare of all Americans.

Today, we have a stronger labor movement and more partnership, and if we were trying to hurt the economy, we did a poor job of it. We have 22.5 million new jobs. We have the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, the lowest female unemployment rate in 40 years, the lowest Hispanic and African-American unemployment rate in history. And the difference in this recovery and so many others is that everybody was doing better. Every sector of our economy had about the same percentage increase in its income over the last 4 years, with the bottom 20 percent having a slightly higher percentage increase.

Since 1993, the yearly income of the typical family is up \$6,300, hourly wages up by more than 9 percent in real terms. So this rising tide has truly lifted all boats.

We also have the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, and last year we had the biggest drop in child poverty in 34 years. And it is no accident that these things have happened at a time when the labor movement was a bigger partner in the policymaking direction of the United States because you cared about not only your own members but the working poor, as well, and the family members of people who were in the American workplace.

For example, in 1993, when the deficit was high and we had to turn it around, you supported giving the tax cut that we could afford to the 15 million American families that were working 40 hours a week for the most modest wages. Nearly none of them were union members, but you wanted them to have the first tax cut because, most of all, they had children in the home and you felt that nobody should work 40 hours a week and raise their kids in poverty. And because you did that, over 2 million people have been lifted

out of poverty, because of the earned-income tax credit. And you should be very, very proud of that.

We have provided now various tuition tax cuts, the HOPE scholarships and others that 10 million Americans are using to go to colleges and community colleges around this country. The direct loan program has saved \$8 billion for students and \$5 billion for colleges of higher education because you supported the right kind of tax relief, targeted toward education.

Family and medical leave, something that we were told would be just terrible for the economy, has now given over 20 million Americans the chance to take some time off from work when there's a sick parent or a newborn baby, and the American economy is stronger than it's ever been. And it's been good for business, because you have more and more and more people who feel comfortable at work because they're not having their insides torn up worrying about their children or their parents at home.

We passed Senator Kennedy's Kennedy-Kassebaum law to let millions of Americans keep their health insurance when they change jobs. We strengthened pension protection for tens of millions of Americans. We've got 90 percent of our kids immunized against serious childhood diseases for the first time. The life of the Medicare Trust Fund has been extended to 2025. We have the cleanest environment we have ever had: The air is cleaner; the water is cleaner; the food is safer. We set aside more land—Secretary Babbitt says if it will get done, we'll surpass Teddy Roosevelt, and we'll have set aside more land than any administration in history. And it hasn't been bad for the economy.

But I want to say something else, too. As in every new progressive era, we sparked a pretty severe reaction from the forces that didn't like the changes we were trying to make. And when they won the Congress, they tried, among other things, to weaken the labor movement. So we defeated their attempts to repeal the prevailing wage, to bring back company unions, to weaken occupational safety laws. Instead, we cracked down on sweatshops, protected pension funds, passed tough new worker's safety rules

to prevent repetitive stress injuries, and at least once, we did succeed in raising the minimum wage.

Now, we were told when we raised the minimum wage it was a terrible thing for the economy and particularly rough on small business. Well, let's look at the record. Since the last time the minimum wage was increased, America has created almost 12 million new jobs. The unemployment rate has dropped from 5.2 to 4 percent, and in every single year, we have set a record for the number of new small businesses in America.

So the next 4 years are going to be challenging for you, but at least you'll have one solace: You'll have all the evidence on your side. I must say, there have been times in the last few years when I've almost admired our opponents in the political arena, because they are never fazed by evidence. *[Laughter]* You know, "Don't bother me with the facts. I know what I think, and I know who's greasing these wheels, and the facts are absolutely irrelevant." But at least you have it, and you know most Americans care about them so don't forget the evidence.

You've built a record that proves that America is better off when we are pro-business and pro-labor, when we all work together and everybody has a seat at the table, when everybody's concerns are heard and individuals are empowered. Don't forget it. Fall back on the evidence, and you will prevail.

What does that mean? Well, it means that you've got to keep winning new members. As the work force has changed, your membership has gone down. Now it's going back up. You have to be geared to the future of the economy. John and Rich Trumka and our Linda Chavez-Thompson—I have all these jokes I want to tell, and my staff told me I could not tell any of them. *[Laughter]* They say that I have to assume the appropriate role for a former President, and I cannot say any of the things that I want to say, which would leave you howling in the aisle—*[laughter]*—and the only thing that could get me a headline in my increasing irrelevancy from my friends in the press. *[Laughter]* But just use your imagination. *[Laughter]*

I want to focus on the future now. And as a citizen, I want to help you build that

future. You've got to get the minimum wage increase this year, number one. One of the reasons our economic team is here is that we're releasing a report today from the National Economic Council which highlights the challenges facing workers who are working full time for the lowest wages. It shows—listen to this—more than 2.6 million Americans earn at or near the minimum wage. Another 6.9 million Americans earn less than the \$6.15 an hour that we would have raised the minimum wage to. So that it would affect 10 million people, almost, and all their family members.

Now, these are people who work every day to stock store shelves, wash dishes at restaurants, care for our kids. They're in every town and city and of every racial and ethnic group. They are not, as the caricatures often would have it, mostly middle class teenagers working for money to go out on the weekends. Nearly 70 percent of them are adults. More than 60 percent are women. Almost half work full time. And many are the sole breadwinners struggling to raise their kids on \$10,300 a year. They need and they deserve a raise, and they have waited for it for far too long.

Senator Kennedy did everything he could to get it passed at the end of the last session of Congress, and I thought we were going to get it. But in the end, our friends on the other side decided that they could get an even bigger tax cut out of milking the minimum wage if they waited until the new session of Congress.

Now, these families should not be punished for the failure of Congress to act for the last 2 years, since I first called for an increase in the minimum wage. We ought to make up for lost time and lost wages by raising the minimum wage above what I originally proposed 2 years ago, because they've lost more time.

And I want to thank Senator Kennedy, Congressman Bonior, and the others who are working with you on this. But I would like to say something else. You've got to make it clear to the American people what you will and what you won't trade for raising the minimum wage. Raising the minimum wage should never be conditioned on taking away

overtime or other labor protections that workers have. And again, you have something you didn't have 8 years ago. No serious person can say that it is necessary to take these things away to have a strong economy or to have a vibrant small business economy. It's a dog that won't hunt anymore. Use the facts as your shield and keep working.

Let me say that I hope that you will continue to swell the ranks of your members, and I hope you will continue to be on the cutting edge of change. There's a lot of other things that need to be done, and I think you'll be surprised how many of them you can get done the next 4 years if you're smart and careful.

I think it's clear that we have the money now to add a comprehensive prescription drug benefit to the Medicare program, and I hope you'll do it. It's clear that the Children's Health Insurance Program has now added over 3.3 million people to the ranks of people with health insurance, and we've got the number of people without health insurance going down for the first time in a dozen years. It's time to add the parents of those children to the ranks of those with health insurance.

It's clear that we can do more to balance work and family without hurting the economy. I hope there will be an expansion of family and medical leave. I hope there will be a strengthening of the equal pay for women laws. I hope we'll pass the "Employment Non-Discrimination Act," and I hope we will increase our support for child care for working families. There are many, many people, huge numbers, who are eligible by law for Federal assistance in paying their child care bills that we have never come close to funding.

I hope that you will continue to work to empower poor people in poor communities, whether in inner cities, Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta, or on Native American reservations. I hope you'll continue to work to make America the safest big country in the world. I hope you'll continue—let me be more explicit here. In Michigan and Pennsylvania, you had to fight against a lot of your members who were NRA members who believed that Al Gore was going to take your guns away. And you did a brilliant job saying,

"No, he won't take your guns away, but the other guys will take your union away if they can." And you won a ground war.

Now, let me be serious here. The truth is, most of your people who are NRA members are good, God-fearing Americans who wouldn't break the law for anything on Earth, and they get spooked by these fear campaigns. Now, we're in a—I want to make a suggestion—in a nonelection year, when there's not the kind of pressure that we saw last year. And let's don't kid ourselves, the reason that our party didn't win the Congress, in my judgment, more than anything else, is what they did in those rural districts to us again, just like they did in 1994 on guns.

Now, it didn't work at all in New York. Why? New York even has a—you have to get a license to carry a gun in New York. And there's lots of sporting clubs. Nobody has missed a day in the woods in a hunting season. Nobody has missed a single sports shooting event. So all those fear tactics didn't work in New York, because all the hunters and sportsmen could see from their own personal experience that it was not true.

But I believe that you—we've all got a big interest here in keeping America going in the right direction on crime. We've all got a big interest in keeping guns out of the hands of kids and criminals. And we don't need to wait for an election where we're all torn up and upset and you have to win a ground war against your own members just to have an election come out all right over an issue that we shouldn't be debating in the first place at election time.

So I regret that I have not been more persuasive, because I came out of that culture. But I'm telling you, you need to use this next year, when there's no election going on, to go out there and sit down and talk about where we're going, because we've got to keep working to make America a safer place, and nobody wants to end the sporting and hunting culture that has meant so much to so many of your members. And I implore you, you can do this. Maybe nobody else in America can do this, and you can do it.

But you have to do it in a nonelection year, in my opinion, where people aren't fighting against you and you don't feel like you're

pushing a rock up a hill. And I'll help you if I can. This is a big deal for America.

We're still not near safe enough as a country. I'm glad the crime rate has gone down for 8 years. It's a gift you can give the children of your members and the communities in which you live.

And finally, let me say, I hope you will continue on some of the things we disagreed with over the years. We've got to figure out how to put a human face on the global economy. We are becoming more interdependent. We are becoming more and more interdependent. There is going to be more trade whether we like it or not, a trillion dollars a day in pure—just money transactions across national lines.

We have got to figure out how to be on the side of making sure that the little folks in every country in the world are not trampled on by the increasing power of financial transactions and international economic transactions. Instead, we have to prove that we can lift up the fortunes of all people. We have to have good labor rights. We have to have good environmental standards. We have to have fair and open financial rules, so that people don't get ripped off. We've got to do this together, and you've got to be part of the debate. Whenever you're part of the debate, America wins, and Americans win.

And I'll tell you, I've had a great time. I said yesterday in my church, they may find somebody who can do this job better than me; they will never find anybody that had any more fun doing it than I had. I have had a great time. But America is always about tomorrow. And I will end where I began.

This building should be a metaphor for the future of the AFL and the future of America. You built a new building with new technology for new times on old foundations. You stayed with what was best about the past and embraced what was necessary and attractive about the future.

So whenever you come in the front door of this building, think about that as a roadmap for your future. And remember what Susan said about a union being like a family and a workplace being like a family and a nation being like a family. And remember that great line from George Meany's speech—we should never forget our obliga-

tion to do unto others as we would like to be treated ourselves. We should never forget that politics, work, and life are all team sports. It's been an honor to be on your team.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. in the lobby. In his remarks, he referred to International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers member Susan Hagan, who introduced the President; Ms. Hagan's mother, Ada Hagan; Richard L. Trumka, secretary-treasurer, and Linda Chavez-Thompson, executive vice president, AFL-CIO; President Sweeney's wife, Maureen; Irena Kirkland, widow of former AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland; Monsignor George G. Higgins, former director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference (later known as the U.S. Catholic Conference), who attended the first dedication in 1956; Gene Sperling, Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and Director of the National Economic Council; Aida Alvarez, Administrator, Small Business Administration; and Charles M. Brain, Assistant to the President and Director of Legislative Affairs.

Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Citizens Medal

January 8, 2001

Thank you and good afternoon. I would like to thank all of you for coming and welcome you to the White House. But especially the Members of Congress who either are or have been here. Senator Cleland, welcome, sir. Senator Kennedy; Representative Gilman—Mr. Chairman Gilman; Representative Eleanor Holmes Norton; Representative Sununu. And Mr. Justice Souter, we're delighted to see you here today. We thank you for coming.

I won't have many more chances to do this, so I'd also like to thank the United States Marine Band for being here and for all their work.

Yesterday, Hillary and Chelsea and I went to Foundry Methodist Church, which has been our home church since we've been in Washington. And they asked me to speak on reflections and anticipations. And I said I had many anticipations. I anticipated, for example, that my religious bearing would be severely tested when I returned to commercial

air travel. *[Laughter]* And I further anticipated that whenever I walked into a large room for the next 6 months, I would be lost because the Marine Band wouldn't be there to play a song anymore. *[Laughter]* So I thank them so much for all they've done this last 8 years.

One of the greatest honors I have had as President has been the opportunity to recognize and to honor, on behalf of the American people, the rich and diverse accomplishments of our fellow citizens. This ceremony marks the last time I will honor such a remarkable group at the White House. And I am profoundly grateful for this opportunity.

More than two centuries ago, our Founders staked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor on a revolutionary proposition, that people of competing ideas but common ideals could form a more perfect Union, a democracy built solely on the strength of its citizens. They felt it essential that America honor both the individual and the idea that a free people can accomplish their greatest work only by doing so together, for our common good.

Today, we honor citizens whose individual contributions to the common good embody this ideal in its purest essence. We honor them with the President's Citizens Medal.

Among our Nation's highest civilian honors, the Citizens Medal is a symbol of our gratitude as a people for those who have, in particular, performed exemplary deeds of service to others.

Now, let me say a few words about each of those who we honor, and I will ask my military aide to present me with a medal, and then I will present the medals.

Every baseball fan knows Hank Aaron holds more records than any other single ball player. Indeed, one of the truly great experiences of my Presidency was going to Atlanta for the 25th anniversary of the night Hank Aaron broke Babe Ruth's home run record. But his courage and dignity have left a lasting mark on far more than baseball.

We honor him today not only for the power of his swing but for the power of his spirit, for breaking down barriers not just on the baseball field or in the front office but also within America's heart. In the spotlight

and under pressure, he always answered bigotry and brutality with poise and purpose.

In chasing his dream, Hank Aaron gave others the inspiration to chase their own. And after he left baseball, he and his wonderful wife, Billye, have done what they could to give young people more tools to win their own chase. Hank Aaron, you are an American hero, and we salute you for your life.

[At this point, the President presented the medal.]

Because he could float like a butterfly and sting like a bee, Muhammad Ali became the first boxer in history to capture the heavyweight title three separate times. Along the way, he captured the world's imagination and its heart. Outside the ring, Muhammad Ali has dedicated his life to working for children, feeding the hungry, supporting his faith, and standing up for racial equality. He has always fought for a just and more humane world, breaking down barriers here in America and around the world.

There are no telling how many tens of millions of people had their hearts swell with pride and their eyes swell with tears in 1996 when Muhammad Ali lit the Olympic torch, because we know, now and forever, he is the greatest.

[The President presented the medal.]

As a civics teacher fresh out of college, Juan Andrade showed up for the first day of class eager to teach his students the fundamentals of American democracy. Two days later, he was under arrest. What was his terrible crime? He was teaching his students in his native tongue, Spanish, which was at the time a violation of Texas law.

That early injustice helped to spark Juan's life-long crusade for Hispanic-American civil rights, including the founding of the United States Hispanic Leadership Institute and nearly a thousand registration drives that have enfranchised over one million new voters. Today, we honor Juan Andrade for his courage, his commitment to both democracy and diversity, and for giving so many more Americans a voice in their own destiny.

[The President presented the medal.]

Ruby Bridges was born in 1954, the year the Supreme Court decided *Brown v. Board of Education*. Six years later, when she entered the first grade, the schools in her home town of New Orleans were still separate and unequal.

Ruby was chosen to integrate William Frantz public school, singlehandedly. So when mobs gathered and shouted around this 6-year-old girl, she knelt and prayed. She had two U.S. marshalls ahead of her and two behind, but “prayer,” she later said, “was my protection.”

Today, in lectures and books, Ruby is telling younger generations her story of strength and faith. And through the Ruby Bridges Foundation, she is helping schools to establish diversity programs, to achieve without the struggle and pain what she did four and a half decades ago.

Today, we pay tribute to the courage of a little girl and to the commitment of a lifetime.

[*The President presented the medal.*]

One of Ron Brown’s favorite Bible passages came from the 40th chapter of Isaiah, “Those who wait upon the Lord shall have their strength renewed; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not grow weary; they shall walk, and not faint.”

Well, Ron walked, ran, and soared through life, and I can personally testify never grew weary. As the chairman of my party, he inspired people to believe in our democratic system and to get involved. As Secretary of Commerce, he opened up new markets at home and abroad, so that people throughout the world and here in America might, through work, have better lives for their families.

His legacy still burns brightly, not only in the hearts of those who knew him but also in the work of his daughter, Tracey, who wrote a wonderful biography of her father; the work of his son, Michael, who runs the Ron Brown Foundation; and the living testimony of all the young people who, even now, walk through doors he opened and cross bridges he built.

We honor his memory today and, Alma, I am glad you could be with us to share the moment.

[*The President presented the medal to Alma Brown, Ron Brown’s widow.*]

For nearly 20 years, Don Cameron has served as the executive director of the National Education Association. But his career began long before that, as a Michigan junior high school teacher in the early sixties. His starting salary was a handsome \$5,100 a year, hardly enough to support a family. So while teaching, he worked odd jobs, pumping gas, selling hardware, driving a truck, even digging graves—all for the love of teaching. Let no one say this man was not deadly serious about his job. [*Laughter*]

His enthusiasm has never wavered. During his remarkable tenure, the National Education Association grew by more than a million members; it nearly doubled in size. He has always fought for quality schools, smaller classes, making sure that teachers are meeting high professional standards, and in turn, are treated as the professionals they are. Our schools are stronger and our children’s future brighter because of his decades of dedicated leadership.

Thank you, Don Cameron.

[*The President presented the medal.*]

When Pope John the 23d urged Catholics to engage in the world and address the needs of the poor, Sister Carol Coston, an Adrian Dominican nun, answered the call. She left the security of her convent to live and work in a public housing project. Then she helped to create Network, a national Catholic lobby that has mobilized thousands of nuns and lay people to fight for social progress in South Africa, for women’s rights, and for economic justice. She helped to win passage of the Community Reinvestment Act, which has led to billions of dollars in investment in our inner cities. I am proud to say, Sister, 95 percent of it in the last 8 years.

And she founded Partners for the Common Good, a fund that invests in housing and entrepreneurship in low income neighborhoods. For your work as an agent of change, rooted in the values of your faith, Sister Carol, a grateful nation honors you today.

[*The President presented the medal.*]

As a young Government lawyer during World War II, Archibald Cox helped to get labor unions and corporations to stop fighting each other—a work that's still going on today—and to start working together for an allied victory. That same steely resolve and sense of high purpose have marked his entire astonishing career. Fighting for labor rights in the fifties, civil rights in the sixties, and during Watergate, rising that fateful night to defend our Constitution, he has come to embody the highest ideals of integrity and courage in public life.

Archibald Cox, every American, whether he or she knows your name or not, owes you a profound debt of thanks for a lifetime of your service to your country and its Constitution.

[The President presented the medal.]

Just as Lewis and Clark set forth to explore a continent shrouded in mysterious possibility, Charles DeLisi pioneered the exploration of a modern day frontier, the human genome.

As an administrator and researcher in the Department of Energy in the mid-1980's, he worked in close partnership with Senator Pete Domenici, along with others who supported his efforts to marshal Federal resources and secure funding for this groundbreaking research.

Charles DeLisi's imagination and determination helped to ignite the revolution in sequencing that would ultimately unravel the code of human life itself. Thanks to Charles DeLisi's vision and leadership, in the year 2000 we announced the complete sequencing of the human genome. And researchers are now closer than ever to finding therapies and cures for ailments once thought untreatable.

At once scientist, entrepreneur, and teacher, Charles DeLisi is also, in the truest sense, a humanitarian, a man whose life work has been life itself. We honor you today, sir, along with the Members of the United States Congress, including your friend, Senator Domenici, who had the vision to support you when you began, before we could see this great turn in the road. Thank you.

[The President presented the medal.]

The spread of civil and human rights throughout America and across the globe has been one of the great dramas and triumphs of the last half century. Jack Greenberg has been at the center of the action.

As a young lawyer, he helped Thurgood Marshall argue *Brown v. Board of Education* before the Supreme Court. As head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund for 23 years, he, himself, argued dozens of key racial discrimination cases before the high court. Through his early involvement with organizations such as Asia Watch, he aided the expansion of human rights around the world.

Oliver Wendell Holmes once said that to truly live, one must share the action and passion of one's time. If that remains the standard, Jack Greenberg has truly lived and, in the process, has lifted the lives of countless others.

[The President presented the medal.]

When David Ho was a boy, he used puppets to act out stories about heroes who used supernatural powers to defend the weak. Everyone knew young David was uncommonly bright, but few could have imagined that one day he would harness the unimagined powers of science to defend patients whose immune systems were fatally weakened by AIDS.

By demonstrating the ways HIV attacks the human body, he fundamentally changed the way we understand and treat this devastating disease. His groundbreaking work, using protease inhibitors, in combination with standard therapies, has offered a longer life to countless people living with AIDS.

And so we thank you, David Ho, for giving us new hope that AIDS can be treated and one day cured and for reminding us that a child's dream can lead to miracles for others.

[The President presented the medal.]

In 1988 the students at Gallaudet University rose up to demand a university president who was like them, deaf or hard of hearing. Gallaudet, the only university in the world designed entirely for students who are deaf or hard of hearing, never had had a deaf president. That is, not until I. King Jordan.

His appointment was not only a triumph for the students of Gallaudet but a historic

breakthrough for all people with disabilities and a powerful reminder for the rest of our Nation that deaf people like I. King Jordan can excel and lead as well as any other Americans. Moved by his example and the efforts of the entire disability community, Congress soon passed the Americans with Disabilities Act, the most important civil rights legislation in the last quarter century.

I. King Jordan has been a great teacher, a great university president, a great inspiration to millions of people around the world. Along the way, he's found time to be a not inconsiderable athlete, I might add, running great distances at more than reasonable speeds. *[Laughter]* And he has been a very good friend to this President for the last 8 years.

Thank you President Jordan, for your example and your leadership.

[The President presented the medal.]

Franklin Roosevelt once said, "We must scrupulously guard the civil rights and civil liberties of all our citizens, whatever their background." In the decades since, America has had few guardians of liberty more scrupulous or staunch than Anthony Lewis. Reporter, columnist, professor, author, Tony Lewis, in every role, has been a clear and courageous voice for the values at the core of our Constitution.

In books like, "Gideon's Trumpet," he has deepened our understanding of freedom of speech and our continuing battle for civil rights. Twice, his reporting has won the Pulitzer Prize. Perhaps even more important, throughout a lifetime, all his writings, including his column, have shown a commitment and a passion with a civil tone and a careful, thoughtful reasoning that have been more powerful than the forces of brute power and injustice.

Thank you, Tony Lewis, for the values you have espoused, for the way you have espoused them, and for never growing weary.

[The President presented the medal.]

It was 1944, wartime, and African-American soldiers were fighting and dying to protect freedom around the world. Unfortunately, African-Americans were also battling an insidious enemy here at home, Jim Crow.

It was then that a young mother, named Irene Morgan, took up that fight with dignity and determination.

On her way to a doctor's appointment, she refused to give up her seat on a segregated Greyhound bus and appealed her subsequent arrest all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court's 1946 ruling banning segregation on interstate transportation was an early victory in the struggle for civil rights. It signaled the beginning of the end for Jim Crow.

Over all the decades since, Irene Morgan has never asked for accolades, but today we honor her. We acknowledge our debt to her quiet and brave fight for freedom. And we acknowledge the fact that she was there before just about anybody else, and in spite of that, she still looks like a beautiful, young woman. Irene Morgan.

[The President presented the medal.]

When Constance Baker Motley joined the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, she set out to do nothing less than remake American law. Along the way, she herself made history.

A key strategist in the civil rights movement, she argued nine winning cases before the Supreme Court. She went on to become the first African-American woman elected to the New York State Senate, the first woman and the first African-American to be borough president of Manhattan, the first African-American woman to be named a Federal court judge.

Once she said she sought to, "prove in everything I do that blacks and women are as capable as anyone."

As advocate, lawyer, public servant, and judge, she has been far more than capable; she has been superb. And Constance Baker Motley, we are all in your debt.

[The President presented the medal.]

In the 1960's, Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias grew outraged at the poor quality of pediatric health care in her native Puerto Rico, so she created the island's first center for newborn babies at the University of Puerto Rico Medical Center and cut the hospital's infant death rate in half.

Ever since, in New York, in California, all across America, Dr. Rodriguez-Trias has

been working for better patient care, for better treatment and prevention of AIDS, for women's health rights.

For fighting the good fight and saving countless lives, mostly among poor people that are too often forgotten by others, I am proud to present this medal to Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias.

[The President presented the medal.]

When Edward Roybal joined the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1934, he didn't know he was embarking on a lifetime of service to his country, but it turned out that way. In World War II, he served in the Army; in the 1950's, on the Los Angeles city council. In 1962 he became the first Hispanic elected to Congress from California in almost a century, paving the way for a whole generation of Latino lawmakers. During his 30 years in Congress, he championed veterans, the elderly, the mentally ill, education, health care, and minority rights.

For a lifetime of work that has improved the lives of millions and for lighting the path for other Latino office holders, we honor today Edward Roybal. He is unable to join us, but it is a particular pleasure for me to present this award to his daughter, now a Member of the United States Congress, Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard.

[The President presented the medal.]

Eight years ago, in a very troubled time for the American economy, I asked Bob Rubin to head my economic team and to establish for the first time a National Economic Council in the White House and involving all the economic agencies of the Government. I did it not because he had been immensely successful in making money and knew a lot about the economy but because he also understood the very real impact decisions in Washington have on the lives and livelihoods of ordinary Americans all across this Nation.

As my National Economic Adviser and later as a superb Secretary of the Treasury, Bob balanced a commitment to fiscal prudence and social progress. He understood that good economics and a generous progressive social policy could go hand in hand.

He helped to balance the Nation's books and to balance the Nation's priorities. And it is no accident that his leadership in economic policy accompanied not only the longest economic expansion in history but, last year, the biggest drop in child poverty in 34 years, the biggest increase in personal income among the lowest 20 percent of working Americans in a very long time, and a general growth in the equality and harmony we all seek from all our people.

He also never let me forget our special responsibilities to the inner cities of America, which is why I mentioned earlier that even though the Community Reinvestment Act has been on the books for over 20 years, 95 percent of all the investment occurred during the last 8 years.

Thank you, Bob Rubin, for helping make America a better place.

[The President presented the medal.]

As a combat platoon leader in the Korean war, Warren Rudman never worried about the race or background of the men with whom he fought. As a United States Senator, he never let his party affiliation keep him from speaking his mind or building alliances to fight the great legislative battles. He fought to strengthen and modernize our national defense and to put our fiscal house in order.

As a private citizen, he has continued to champion those causes with bipartisan zeal. As cofounder of the Concord Coalition and as the leader of my Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, he has repeatedly, during these 8 years of my Presidency, undertaken difficult, thankless, inherently controversial tasks with an honesty and candor that showed a support for our Nation and a willingness to call them as he saw them.

For his wise counsel, and his faithful service to our Nation, I am grateful and proud to present Senator Warren Rudman with the Citizens Medal.

[The President presented the medal.]

Soon after graduating from law school, Charles Ruff volunteered to go to Liberia to teach law. There he contracted an illness that left him in a wheelchair for life. But this obstacle, nor any other, could ever keep him

from doing good. He went on to serve in the Justice Department as United States Attorney and the chief lawyer for the District of Columbia, the town he loved so well.

I chose him as my White House Counsel because of his unmatched ability as a legal advocate and his even deeper devotion to the Constitution and the rule of law. Not long ago he agreed to lead the Fair Labor Association to help end sweatshops and improve the lives of the world's poorest people.

A few weeks ago, Chuck Ruff left our lives, far too soon. But his determined spirit continues to inspire us and to call on us to do more, to do right, to do good. We at the White House loved him very much, but so did countless others, far beyond the walls of this hallowed place. His secretary of 21 years, Ora Theard, will accept the medal in his memory. And we thank him for the memories.

[The President presented the medal.]

As a young man, Arthur Schneier fled his homeland and survived the Holocaust as a refugee. He knows, therefore, firsthand the consequences of hatred and intolerance and has devoted his life to fighting them. As founder and president of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, he has encouraged interfaith dialog, intercultural understanding, and the cause of religious freedom around the world. He has served as international envoy for four administrations, including my own.

As Chairman of the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad and as the long-time rabbi of Park East Synagogue in New York City, Rabbi, I thank you for all the many things you have done here with me the last 8 years to promote religious liberty around the world, and I thank you for a lifetime of good work and good examples.

I look forward to seeing you in New York, where perhaps you will become my rabbi. Thank you.

[The President presented the medal.]

Before he was 40 years old, Eli Segal had already built a string of successful businesses. He had also had a string of successful friends. In 1992, by blind accident, I wound up being

one of them, and I asked my old friend, Eli Segal, to join my administration, where he built from scratch two of our most successful programs.

Eli began AmeriCorps, which has already given more than 150,000 young people a chance to serve in their communities and, in so doing, earn some money for college. Indeed, more people served in AmeriCorps in the first 5 years of its existence than in the first 25 years of the Peace Corps' existence.

After he returned briefly to private life and his great affinity for making money, I called him back, and I said we needed some more help. He then built our Welfare to Work Partnership, which enlisted in the space of about 3 years, over 20,000 businesses, in hiring more than one million people from the welfare rolls.

These efforts have both widened the circle of opportunity in America and strengthened the tradition of service to country. For this, all Americans owe Eli Segal a special debt of gratitude. If you have ever seen the faces of those young AmeriCorps kids or the pride of people who have moved from welfare to work, you know why we're in Eli's debt. Thank you very much.

[The President presented the medal.]

John Seiberling has worn many hats and won many accolades. As a soldier in World War II, as a lawyer for the New York Legal Aids Society, a community planner for his beloved city of Akron, a Congressman from Ohio fighting for civil rights and arms control—in all arenas he has contributed to community and country.

But his greatest achievement was crafting and winning passage of the Alaska Lands Act of 1980, which doubled the size of our inventory of national parks and wildlife refuges and tripled the area of federally designated wilderness. With that legislation, John Seiberling singlehandedly saved more of our wilderness than any previous American, a legacy that will last for generations.

Unfortunately, this environmental hero is unable to join us today, but we are very glad that his son, John, will accept the medal on his behalf.

[The President presented the medal.]

Few newspaper publishers in American history have been more effective crusaders for justice than the late John Sengstacke. As owner and editor of the legendary Chicago Defender for almost 60 years, he provided a national forum for African-American issues and voices that otherwise would have gone unheard. He nurtured the talents of countless black journalists, and as a confidant of Presidents, played a key roll in integrating the armed services, the Postal Service, Major League Baseball, and the White House press corps.

On behalf of a grateful nation, I offer this medal posthumously to his son, Bobby.

[The President presented the medal.]

When bigots blew up his house with dynamite, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth stood in front of the smoking rubble and renewed his call for an integrated Birmingham. When the city fathers had him arrested for civil disobedience, he filled the jails with so many sympathetic protesters, there was no room to hold them all. When angry authorities blasted him with a firehose, he told them they could knock him down, but they could not extinguish the torch of justice.

Fred Shuttlesworth risked his life so that every American, no matter the color of his or her skin, might live in a nation of dignity, opportunity, and equal justice under law. We thank him for a lifetime of leadership, and for an unextinguished spirit.

[The President presented the medal.]

She was born in England, but Elizabeth Taylor became thoroughly American royalty. For more than a generation, she has reigned over the silver screen, stirring hearts and capturing imaginations. She earned two Oscars and countless other honors as an actress.

But perhaps her greatest role has been off the screen, as a relentless and very, very early crusader for AIDS research and care. She has not only raised—*[applause]*—she raised millions and millions of dollars in this fight and raised awareness about the human impact of this dreaded disease before many, many others were on the bandwagon.

Elizabeth Taylor has brought to life unforgettable characters on film, but she has brought even more hope to millions around

the world. We thank her for sharing her talent and her heart. Thank you, Elizabeth Taylor.

[The President presented the medal.]

When the Nazis marched on Vienna, a 6-year-old girl fled with her mother across Europe, only to wind up in an internment camp rife with starvation, disease, and death. Out of that searing experience, Marion Wiesel summoned the courage to commit her life to teaching others, especially children, about the human cost of hatred, intolerance, and racism.

She has written a documentary about the 1.3 million children murdered in the Holocaust and has translated the books of her husband, Eli Wiesel, so that countless more people can read and learn their lessons. With the money from his Nobel Prize, she and Eli established the Wiesel Foundation, to educate children against indifference to the suffering of others.

Marion, for your mission of hope against hate, of life against death, of good over evil, it is an honor to award you this Citizens Medal.

[The President presented the medal.]

Patrisha Wright was training to be an orthopedic surgeon when a degenerative muscle disease left her with double vision. Instead of fixing broken bones, she set about to fix what was broken in our system and dedicated her life to ending discrimination against people with disabilities.

As founder of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, she joined forces with the wider civil rights community. Her strategic brilliance and no-nonsense approach during passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act earned her the title of “The General.”

Now she works to empower people and families with disabilities throughout the entire world. Ever since a visual impairment changed the path of her career, her dedication to civil rights has changed the path of America and helped more of us to see clearly. Today, we salute you, “The General,” Patrisha Wright.

[The President presented the medal.]

Ladies and gentlemen, we thank you for joining us to honor these remarkable people. Some of them are famous, and some were not, at least until today. Some of them had their service thrust upon them by circumstances; others chose the path. Whatever their stories, together they form a remarkable fabric of what is best about our country, what is best about its history, and what is most encouraging when we look to the future.

They remind us, once again, something that I need to remember in these days, that the greatest title any one of us can ever hold is that of citizen.

Thank you, and goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:32 p.m. in a pavilion on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Comdr. Pat DeQuattro, USCG, Coast Guard Aide to the President.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Protocol To Amend the 1949 Convention on the Establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission With Documentation
January 8, 2001

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Protocol to Amend the 1949 Convention on the Establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, done at Guayaquil, June 11, 1999, and signed by the United States, subject to ratification, in Guayaquil, Ecuador, on the same date. In addition, I transmit, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Protocol. The Protocol will not require implementing legislation.

The Protocol amends the Convention for the Establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, done at Washington May 31, 1949, and entered into force March 3, 1950 (the "Convention"), to allow the European Union to become a member of the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission (IATTC) created under the Convention. Presently, the Convention is only open to governments of states. The Protocol will,

upon entry into force, allow regional economic integration organizations like the European Union to become a party to the Convention and a full member of the IATTC provided all parties to the Convention give their consent to such adherence. The Protocol also provides that the Member States of any regional economic integration organization that is allowed to adhere to the Protocol are barred from joining or continuing as a party to the Convention except with respect to the Member States' territories that are outside the territorial scope of the treaty establishing the regional economic integration organization.

Allowing the European Union to accede to the Convention is important to the United States because it would mean that the vessels operating under the jurisdiction of the European Union and its Member States would be bound by the conservation and management measures adopted by the IATTC for the fishery resources of the eastern Pacific Ocean.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Protocol and give its advice and consent to ratification.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
January 8, 2001.

Remarks to the Democratic National Committee Staff
January 8, 2001

Well, first of all, I want to say to all of you, I'm sorry I kept you waiting, but I promised you I was going to work until the last day, and that's what I'm doing. [*Laughter*]

I spent a little time today working on the Middle East and a little time today rededicating the AFL-CIO building and rededicating myself to their issues and their cause and to not letting the progress they've made in the last 8 years be reversed and a number of other things.

I have my Chief of Staff, John Podesta, and Maria Echaveste and my Political Director, Minyon Moore, Lynn Cutler—a lot of people came over from the White House. They love you guys. They wanted to be here with me.

I want to thank my friend Ed Rendell, who even went to the point of shooting baskets with me in a neighborhood in Philadelphia in '92, to make sure I could get plenty of votes and win Pennsylvania.

For all the trips that we made together, I want to thank the indefatigable Joe Andrew for leaving his home in Indiana and coming here and working so hard. I want to thank Dennis Archer and Loretta Sanchez, who aren't here; and Senator Torricelli and Representative Kennedy, who worked with me and gave me the opportunity to do a gazillion events—[*laughter*—Martin Frost and Paul Patton and my dear friend State Senator Mike Miller from Maryland. Thank you, Rob; thank you to all the staff members.

I also want to express my appreciation for those of you who are here day-in and day-out. I think it was Joe who said some of you go back to President Carter's administration.

One person who has been here a long time, who passed away today, is Elber Suggs, and I want to say how grateful I am. I know a lot of you knew him. He not only was a longtime employee of the DNC, but he was a longtime member of the UAW. So he was a two-fer in more ways than one. And I know that we all send our prayers and thoughts to his family, and our gratitude for all he did for the DNC and for the causes we believe in.

I wanted to come by before I left office to thank you for what you did in this election. You know, I tell everybody as I'm sort of dwindling into irrelevancy—[*laughter*—the only way I can really get any big headlines is to say what I really think about—[*laughter*]. But I think I'll show some restraint tonight, since I'm preaching to the saved.

But I want to thank you for what you did in the year 2000. It was an election in which a lot of forces were arrayed against us and a lot of money was spent. We had to work hard to raise a lot. And all of you in these various organizations, you gave me the opportunity to do 169 different phone messages and radio spots at the end of the campaign. And on the day before and the day of the election, I did 66 radio interviews. So for all of you who were personally responsible for practically working me into an early grave—

[*laughter*—I want to thank you, because that's what we all hired on to do.

And when you're in this sort of struggle, you want to leave it all out there on the floor; you don't want to wonder, when it's all said and done, if there's just one more thing you could have done, one more phone call you could have made. I believe you've done everything you could do, and I'm proud of you and grateful to you.

One other thing I want to say is that I think that the dividing line between politics and policy is not very clear. And most people say that in a pejorative way. I say it in a proud way. This is a political system we live in. The framers of the Constitution expected it to be and didn't think politics was a bad word. They thought it was a good word, and so do I. I am proud that I have spent my life in the American political system.

So even though you have to worry about recruiting candidates and raising money and getting the talking points out there and answering the charges and doing all the things you have to do, the sort of nitty-gritty work of political life, you should never forget that it bears a direct relationship to the way the American people live.

Our friend Terry McAuliffe buried his father a few days ago, and I went to Syracuse to the funeral. He was a great friend of mine. He was the treasurer of the Onondaga Democratic Party for 27 years. And at 83, he was putting out yard signs for Hillary in this Senate race, because he knew that there was a direct connection between putting up the yard signs and the kind of economy and kind of life the people in the community in which he had spent his life would have. And you should never lose sight of that.

When you go home tonight and people ask you for the rest of your life, why did you do this—[*laughter*—tell them, well, there are 22.5 million reasons in the people who have jobs that didn't have them when we took over 8 years ago. There are roughly 25 million reasons in the people who have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law, which was vetoed when the other party had the White House.

There are 600,000 reasons in the people who had a criminal record and couldn't get

handguns—and lots of people are alive because of that—because we passed the Brady bill. There are over 10 million reasons in the people who have taken advantage of the HOPE scholarship tax credit and the other college tax reductions and benefits that have been increased under this administration. There are \$8 billion worth of savings to college students in the direct college loan program. Ninety percent of the kids in this country under 2 are immunized against serious diseases for the first time in history. And you did that.

The air's cleaner. The water's cleaner. The food's safer. More land has been set aside. Bruce Babbitt says by the time we finish, we'll finally eclipse Teddy Roosevelt's record, that stood for 100 years, in preserving land and natural resources for all time to come. You were a part of that. Don't ever forget that.

Why? Because if I hadn't won those two elections with Al Gore and if we hadn't had help in the Senate and the House and we hadn't had Governors and mayors and others willing to stick up for us, none of it would have happened.

Last year, we had the biggest drop in child poverty in a generation, the lowest poverty rate overall in 20 years. Last year, people in the lowest 20 percent of the working people in this country had the biggest percentage increase in their income of any group of Americans. This was a recovery that didn't just help wealthy people. It made more millionaires and more billionaires, but it also let more people work their way in the middle class, too. You did that, and you should be proud of that.

We mended affirmative action instead of throwing it away, because of politics, because of what you did, because we had enough people in the Congress who would support me to do that.

I could go on and on and on. But you just remember: Every single decision that advanced the cause of the American people for the last 8 years grew out of a political decision made by voters on election day all across this country. And this country is going to be just fine, as long as we get all the votes counted. [Laughter] And don't you ever forget it.

The other thing I want to tell you is that you can't be discouraged when you lose. My Chief of Staff, Mr. Podesta, celebrated his 52d birthday today. It looks good on him. He's more than 2 years younger than I am. [Laughter] We met in a Senate campaign in 1970, which we lost. And those of us who are about our age, we went for the longest time—we thought we'd never win anything. [Laughter] And we finally won the White House in 1976, and we didn't hold it.

But you know, when you look back, Jimmy Carter looks pretty good in the light of history. And the campaign for human rights and the campaign for a sensible energy policy, the things that he stood for, it looks awful good in the light of history. And the life that he's made since then, which would not have been possible if he hadn't been elected President in the first place, looks awfully good in the light of history.

So I want you to feel good about it, and I don't want you to be discouraged because we didn't win every fight we were in. And I don't want you to be cynical because of the decision of the Supreme Court. I want you to be invigorated. I want you to look ahead to the races 2 years from now, to the races next year for Governor.

And I want you to remember, in this country, nobody gets a guarantee; you just get a chance. That's what an election is; it's a chance. But there are people all over this country that wouldn't have a chance if you hadn't been here, doing what you've done, the last 8 years.

And I hope when you are as old as I am or even older, you will look back on this period and be very, very proud, and remember those numbers I gave you tonight. Those people in this country, all kinds of people of all races, all religions, all backgrounds, have a more decent, a more united, a more forward-looking country because you stood here and did your job these 8 years.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:25 p.m. at the Democratic National Committee headquarters. In his remarks, he referred to Edward G. Rendell, general chair, Joseph J. Andrew, national chair, Mayor Dennis W. Archer of Detroit, MI, and Representative Loretta Sanchez, general cochair, and Rob Engel, executive director, Democratic

National Committee; Senator Robert G. Torricelli, former chairman, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee; Representatives Patrick J. Kennedy and Martin Frost, former chairmen, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee; Gov. Paul Patton of Kentucky, chairman, Democratic Governors' Association; Maryland State Senate President Thomas V. (Mike) Miller, Jr.; Elber Suggs; and Democratic fundraiser Terry McAuliffe.

Remarks at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Michigan
January 9, 2001

Thank you very much. Let me say, first of all, how delighted I am to be here, to be back at Michigan State. I thank President McPherson and the board of trustees for letting me come back. I think if I were to come back one more time as President, I've been here so many times I'd owe partial tuition at least. *[Laughter]* I always love coming here, and I'm delighted to be here.

I also want to thank Ed Foy for coming out to meet me in 1992 and sticking with me all the way to the end. He gave a great speech, and he was a great representative of the working people of Michigan and the United States, and I thank him. I want to thank Senator Carl Levin for being my friend and being a friend to the people of Michigan. There is no Member of the United States Senate today who is more respected than Carl Levin, and you should be very proud of him.

Now, your new Senator, Debbie Stabenow, got her start—she got her start in politics when she was still a student and was elected county commissioner. So some of the rest of you might get a few ideas from that. I am delighted to welcome her to the Senate. I'm so pleased she was elected before I left office. And she's in a class of Senators which includes some other women that I'm—*[applause]*—I told Debbie on the way in, she and Hillary and the other Senators who were elected in this last cycle were sworn in last Wednesday. And when our daughter, Chelsea, and I were just sitting up there like all the other families in the Senate gallery, being cautioned not to lean over and put our hands on the rail—*[laughter]*—I was

trying to be on my best behavior. I didn't whistle, shout, or jump, but it was, for me, the happiest day of my life since the day my daughter was born. And so I'll always have a special feeling about this election.

I think that Debbie Stabenow showed a great deal of courage and character in this election, and she kept on going when a lot of people thought she couldn't win. And she'll do you proud there. I've watched her in Congress, and she'll be great.

I would like to thank so many other Members of the Michigan congressional delegation who aren't here: Congressmen Levin and Conyers and Bonior, who lost his father in the last couple of days, and especially my good friend Congressman John Dingell, who's recuperating and is still up and around. All the other members of the delegation that helped me, I'm very grateful.

I thank Attorney General Jennifer Granholm for being here, and all the people from the Michigan Legislature who are here, but especially Representative Kilpatrick, who's been such a good friend of mine. Thank you. And Mayor Archer, thank you; Mayor Hollister, thank you.

And I want to say a special word of appreciation to a man who's been one of my closest allies and best friends in political life for way over a decade now, your former Governor, and a man who served as a great Ambassador to Canada in our administration, Jim Blanchard, and his wife Janet. Thank you very much.

I'd also like to say that when word got out I was coming here, everybody in my administration wanted to come with me. I keep telling them, we promised to work until the last day in office. I've still got some environmental initiatives I want to take—I've still got some other things I want to do. But because I came today to talk about the economy, what happened over the last 8 years and where we're going, and the relationship of the economy to education, I brought two people who have been with me every day since I became President: the Secretary of Education, Dick Riley, and the Secretary of Labor, Alexis Herman. Give them a big hand, will you? *[Applause]* Thank you.

Believe it or not, there's one person in this audience with whom I served 24 years ago

in my first elected position as attorney general of my State, your former Attorney General Frank Kelley. Thanks for being here, for 24 years of friendship. Thank you.

Now most of all, I want to thank Tom Izzo and the Michigan State Spartans for being up here with me. Usually, the national championship team comes to Washington. But I'm sort of a short-termmer, you know, and nothing beats recognizing the team before 14,000 cheering fans. Also, there's a lot of sense of humor and kidding in my family, and you may know that my daughter is a senior at Stanford. So I'm going to wear that Spartan jersey tonight when I go home and see if I can provoke some conversation around the dinner table.

One of the things that I admire about this team—and I followed it very closely last year—is that there is no quit in it. I know you had a tough game last weekend, but let me tell you, if you play any game in life long enough, once in a while somebody will sink a three-point shot, falling backwards with your hand in their face. It will happen if you play any game long enough—the equivalent will happen to you. It is not fatal. The only thing that's fatal is quitting. And you've got no quit in that team back there, and that's good.

The most important thing I want to do today is to say a simple thank-you to the people of Michigan State, Lansing, and the State of Michigan, for supporting me and Hillary and Al and Tipper Gore these last 8 years.

You know, my history with Michigan is profoundly important to the opportunity I have had to serve as President. It began with the primary victory here on St. Patrick's Day in 1992. It included two general elections in which the people of Michigan were kind enough to give me their electoral votes. And thanks for making it three in a row last November.

I first visited this campus in 1992. I've come here for debates, rallies, and whistle-stop tours. I was the first President since Theodore Roosevelt to speak here while in office. I imagine I'm the only one to speak here twice. Let me tell you, every time I've come here, I've learned something. And even though 8 years is longer than it takes most

of you to get a degree, my Michigan State education is just about complete.

When I came here—unbelievably, almost 9 years ago now—our economy was profoundly troubled and our society was divided. In 1992 there were riots in Los Angeles and troubling signs of social division elsewhere. I talked to college students in my home State of Arkansas who said they were dropping out of school because they couldn't afford to borrow any more money and they didn't believe they could get a good job when they got out and pay their loans back. I met college students in every State in the country, including Michigan, who were afraid they wouldn't get a job, even with their diploma.

I met union workers who thought they would either never work again, or if they did, they'd never in their lives get a job paying the same amount that they were making before they lost their previous job. Industrial production had actually declined that year, for the first time in the history of the United States. Average family income fell by \$1,600 in just 2 years. The Federal deficit was \$290 billion and rising. The national debt had quadrupled over the previous 12 years. Interest rates were high. Growth was low. The confidence of the American people was shaken. And just as bad, it had been 13 years since the Spartans had won a national championship. *[Laughter]* It was not the best of times.

And I asked the American people to send me to Washington for a little while, on a mission—a mission to build a 21st century America with opportunity for all, responsibility from all citizens, and a community of all Americans. I committed to do my best to build a new kind of National Government, one that would focus on the future and on providing all of our citizens with the conditions and tools necessary to build their own lives and make the most of America's future.

Well, thanks to the good people of Michigan, and people like you across this country, Al Gore and I got the precious chance to spend 8 years in Washington, putting people first, getting the economy going again, improving social and environmental conditions, advancing peace, freedom, and prosperity

around the world, and building a Government ready to make the most of this new century.

Now, I want to talk just a little about what happened, because it's important, when you look to the future, to know what happened in the recent past and how it brought us to this present.

We began with a clear strategy to get the economy going that it had three elements: Get the deficit down and get rid of it; invest more in our people; sell more American goods and services around the world. The American people did the rest. We are still experiencing the longest economic expansion in our history. Our economy is 50 percent bigger than it was 8 years ago. When I took office, the national unemployment rate was 7.3 percent, 7.4 here in Michigan. Now, it is 4 percent—it's been below 5 percent for 3 years—and it's 3.7 percent in Michigan.

We have—that's the lowest overall unemployment rate in 30 years, even though we've got more of our people participating in the work force; the lowest female unemployment rate in 40 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rate ever recorded.

And unlike some of our previous recoveries, this rising tide is lifting all boats. In the last 3 years, people at all income levels have done better, and the highest percentage increase in income has come in the lowest 20 percent of the working population of America in the last 3 years. Poverty is at a 20-year low; homeownership at an all-time high. In 1992, Michigan State graduates who found jobs had an average starting salary of just under \$26,000. The average salary for last year's graduate was over \$36,000.

Now, how did this happen? Well, first, we said we would get rid of the deficits and begin to attack the debt. And keep in mind—let me just say this again—in the entire history of the country, going back to 1776, the debt of America quadrupled in the 12 years before we began to work. What's happened since? We started with a \$290 billion deficit. This year, we had a \$240 billion surplus. We've had the biggest back-to-back surpluses in history. By the end of this fiscal year, we will have paid down more than \$500 billion in our national debt. We're on track to be

debt-free by the end of the decade, for the first time since 1835.

Why should you care whether your Government's out of debt? Here's why—two reasons. First, economically, if the Government is paying down its debt instead of borrowing money, that means there is more money left for you at lower interest rates for college loans, car loans, home loans, more money for business loans at lower interest rates—means more businesses more jobs, higher pay raises, and a higher stock market. The average American homeowner in America is now saving \$2,000 a year in lower home mortgages because we're paying down the debt instead of running it up. It makes a huge difference to your future which way we're going.

The second reason, very important to Michigan State where you've got a lot of people who depend on student aid, where you compete for research funds from the Federal Government, we spend over 11 cents on the dollar—nearly 12, and it was headed to 15 when I took office—we spend almost 12 cents on the dollar of every tax dollar you pay to the Federal Government in interest on the debt. It is the third-biggest item in the Federal budget, behind Social Security and defense.

If we get rid of that 12 percent—12 percent on the Federal debt is a huge amount of money in the Federal budget—that's 12 cents on the tax dollar we can either give back to you in tax cuts or invest in our common future, in education, in health care, in the environment, in national defense, in biomedical research, in building a better future.

So the first thing we said we do is do something about the deficit, and we did. And America should keep going until we're debt-free.

The second thing we said we would do is to increase investment in the American people. Now, that's pretty hard when you're cutting spending. We had to get rid of hundreds of Government programs. We reduced the Federal work force by 300,000, to its smallest size since 1960 when Dwight Eisenhower was President. But we have, with the passing of this budget, more than doubled our investment in education and training in the last 8 years. And I'm very proud of that.

We've had the biggest increase in Head Start in history. We've helped Michigan hire more than 1,300 teachers to have smaller classes in the early grades of school. We'll have 1.6 million children in after-school programs this year. We'll have 3.3 million children in the Children's Health Insurance Program, leading to the first decline in the number of people without health insurance in a dozen years.

We'll have 13 million Americans taking advantage of the college tuition tax credits, the HOPE scholarship and the lifetime learning tax credits, expanded Pell grants and work-study programs for helping millions more, including—listen to this—more than 115,000 in Michigan, including some of you in this audience today.

I also want to thank Secretary Riley for something else, the direct student loan program. Michigan State was one of the earliest participants in the direct student loan program. It helps students get college loans more quickly, more cheaply, and gives them more options for paying it back as a percentage of their income. Since 1993, college students have saved \$8 billion on their college loans because of the direct loan program, and college and universities have saved \$5 billion.

We said that we believed an administration could be pro-business and pro-worker, and we've tried to do that. In the last 8 years, we defeated attempts to repeal prevailing wage laws, to bring back company unions, to weaken occupational safety standards. We cracked down on sweat shops, protected pension funds, passed tough new worker safety rules against repetitive stress injuries, and raised the minimum wage. And every time we did that, somebody said, "This is really bad for business." Every year, for the last 8 years, the United States has set a record for new small business formations. And we have more jobs in this 8-year period than ever before in history.

We said we believed that the modern economy must be pro-work and pro-family. And that's something a lot of the students here probably haven't thought of very much. But I can tell you, one of the things that I hear all the time, and I used to hear it even more, from people at all income levels, including quite high income levels, is that they

are desperately afraid that they cannot meet their responsibilities at work and their responsibilities at home. I hardly know anybody with young kids who doesn't have at least one or two searing examples every year, where they're worried about whether they've neglected their work or neglected their kids.

Now, bringing up children is the most important work of any society, in any time, by far. If we have to make a choice between work and family, our economic objectives are defeated before we start. I can tell you, I've reached the age now when I can tell you from personal experience, knowing hundreds of people my age, if your kids—if life doesn't work out for them, it doesn't make a rip how much money you have. It doesn't matter how well you've done in business. Nothing else matters.

So this is very, very important. What do we do about it? That's why we gave a tax cut, even when we were reducing the deficit, to 15 million working families at the lowest levels of income, so anybody that worked 40 hours a week could use the tax system to get out of poverty, not be driven into it. That's why we raised the minimum wage. That's why we passed the family and medical leave law, which 25 million Americans have been able to use to take some time off when there was a sick child or a sick parent or a baby was born, without losing their job. It's been good for the American economy.

Now, we said we would cut crime, and we did. We put over 100,000 police on the street, working toward 150,000. We banned assault weapons. The Brady law background checks have kept 600,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting guns. Crime is at a 25-year low, violent crime in Michigan down 21 percent.

And I know it was controversial here in Michigan, but I want to say again—I'm on the way out, and I'm not running for anything, but let me tell you something. I have in my closet an honorary jacket with a lifetime membership from the NRA which I got from working with them—listen to this—when I was Governor of Arkansas, on hunter education programs and trying to resolve disputes between retired people who retired into unincorporated areas and hunters. I did a lot of work with them.

But I think this business of trying to convince the voters of any State in our Nation that somebody who wants to keep guns away from criminals and kids is threatening their right to hunt or their right to engage in sport shooting—it's just not so. Nobody—it's not so. And I'm telling you something: It's not so. Now, you cannot—there is not a single law-abiding hunter in the State of Michigan who missed a day in the woods because of these initiatives we've taken, nor a single sport shooter that missed a single contest. But there's a lot of people alive today because those 600,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get their handguns.

We believed—and it was somewhat controversial even in Michigan when I said this—that we not only could but we had to grow the economy and improve the environment. We believed we could break the iron link between putting more greenhouse gases into the air and increasing the world's temperature and growing the economy. We believed that new sources of energy and new means of energy conservation could provide a whole new future, not just for the United States but for the rest of the world.

Now, what have we done? The air is cleaner. The water is cleaner. We cleaned up 42 toxic waste dumps in Michigan alone, 5 times as many as the 2 previous administrations, in 12 years. We're investing your money in research in clean technology to make homes, cars, and offices more efficient, to create thousands of new high-tech jobs.

Just last Friday, Ford unveiled an SUV that gets the equivalent of 40 miles per gallon of gas. And at the Detroit auto show right now—right now—GM is showing a family sedan that uses electric hybrid technology—that is, electricity plus fuel—to get the equivalent of 80 miles a gallon. These kinds of vehicles will be rolling off the assembly line soon. I am proud we supported their development through the Partnership for the Next Generation of Vehicles that we established with the UAW and the automakers back in '93 that the Vice President oversaw for us for 8 years.

But it's going to get better. We are also funding research at the Department of Agriculture into biofuel, which most of you know as ethanol. But you can make fuel out of any-

thing. You can make them out of grasses, out of rice hulls, out of any kind of waste product from farms. The real problems with it is, today, it takes 7 gallons of gasoline to make 8 gallons of biofuel. But we are doing research to try to crack the chemical mystery that is the equivalent of how we made gasoline from unrefined petroleum, from oil. And when we do—and they're getting very close—you will be able to make 8 gallons of biofuel with 1 gallon of gasoline, which means everybody will be able to get the equivalent of 500 miles to the gallon of gasoline. And this environmental issue will be much less formidable than it is today. And we will guarantee the future of the auto industry in Michigan by doing what is right for the environment, not pretending there is no challenge. That's what we've got to do.

Now, let me say to all of you, I love all these statistics; it's just nice to have a good story to tell. *[Laughter]* But this is about more than the statistics. It's about more than money. I think there is a new feeling in America of possibility, that we are prepared for the 21st century, that we can meet the big challenges that are still out there, that we can seize the opportunities that are still out there. And I hope one reason is that we understand that we need each other more and we have to work together more.

One of the things that really bothered me when I ran for President in 1992 is how much politics had become a matter of subtraction and division rather than addition and multiplication. What do I mean by that? Politicians always assume that they needed wedge issues to divide people, and then they wanted their supporters to be more inflamed and madder than the other people's supporters. And they hoped that the other people's supporters, if you could attack your opponent enough, would get disillusioned and wouldn't show up for votes. So they were trying to divide and subtract.

I always thought life worked better when you were trying to add and multiply, and I still believe that. I believe that one of the fundamental facts of the modern world is that we are growing more and more interdependent within our communities, our Nation, and beyond our borders. I believe that, therefore, successful social work, including

economics, is becoming more and more like winning a national basketball championship. It's a team sport. I don't care how good a star you are; if the other four walk off the court, you're whipped. [*Laughter*] I don't care how good you are; five on one, the five win.

Now, we have to think about this more. I am immensely gratified that this generation of young people, I think, understands that better than they've gotten credit for. I've never understood all this Generation X talk and how young people are selfish and self-seeking. At Michigan State alone, 150 students have participated in AmeriCorps since we've had that program, out of 150,000 nationwide. We've had more young people do community service in AmeriCorps and earn some money to go on to college in 6 years than we had in the first 30 years of the Peace Corps. The young people of this country understand that they have to build a common future together. They understand that we have to find what's common about us across all the racial and religious and other lines that divide us.

And that's the last thought I want to leave with you. I've just given you a speech mostly about economics today and about the related progress we've made in other areas. But if somebody said to me, "You've got to just leave America with one wish," believe it or not, more than wanting us to be continually successful economically, I would say, "We have to be one America. We have to reach out across all these lines that divide us. We have to celebrate our differences." And I hope you will do that.

Now, one thing I will not claim is to have solved all the problems. You've got big problems out there, or challenges. You've got to deal with the aging of America. When the baby boomers like me retire, there's going to be a bunch of us. And you can't have Social Security and Medicare and the cost of our retirement bankrupt our children's ability to raise our grandchildren. We didn't finish that work, but we made it easier by putting 25 years on Medicare and putting—we're up to 54 years with Social Security now. We did a good job. If we save the money that we're piling up on Social Security, we can save 54 years on Social Security.

So we didn't solve global warming, but we made a good dent in it. We haven't solved all the economic problems in the inner cities, the Indian reservations, the rural communities that have been left behind, but we left America with the tools to do it.

And what I want to ask all of you to do is to think about where we are now and where we were 8 years ago. And then, imagine in your own mind—do what I did 8 years ago, especially the young people—imagine where you would like America to be 10 years from now; where would you like Michigan to be 10 years from now? What do you think it would take to get you there? I can tell you that no matter what strategy you adopt, you will have to continue to invest in people, to put education first, to care about balancing work and family, to care about balancing business and labor, to care about balancing the economy and the environment.

And if we think about the future with those sorts of basic values and never forgetting our mutual need for one another and that America wins when we treat every single endeavor like a team sport, the best days of this country are still ahead.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:40 p.m. in the Jack Breslin Student Events Center. In his remarks, he referred to Peter McPherson, president, Michigan State University; Ed Foy, assistant director, United Auto Workers Region I-C, who introduced the President; Michigan Attorney General Jennifer M. Granholm; State Representative Kwame M. Kilpatrick; Mayor Dennis W. Archer of Detroit; Mayor David C. Hollister of Lansing; and Tom Izzo, basketball coach, Michigan State Spartans. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks at James Ward Elementary School in Chicago, Illinois

January 9, 2001

Thank you very, very much. I want to say, first of all, I realize now that I'm in an elementary school that I should get a tardy slip today. [*Laughter*] But even in these closing days of my Presidency, I can't stop doing my job, and I was unavoidably detained. I'm sorry.

One thing I have learned in over 20 years of visiting schools is that you almost never have a good school without a great principal. And I want to thank Sharon Wilcher for her introduction and for her leadership.

I want to thank Secretary Riley, who has been my friend since the 1970's, and we go back a long way. Our families have been friends; we've shared the joys of our children and the stories of our respective governorships. And I knew he would be a good Secretary of Education, but I think after 8 years, the record will reflect that he is clearly the finest Secretary of Education this country ever had. And I'm very grateful to him.

I want to thank Secretary Alexis Herman, our Secretary of Labor, for joining us today. I brought the Deputy Attorney General, Eric Holder, all the way from Washington. He had never been on one of these trips with me, and he's been working like a dog for years, so I asked him to come. To continue our school analogy, this is recess for him today.

I want to thank Senator Dick Durbin for his friendship and his leadership over all these years. Congressman Bobby Rush, who worked in my campaign for President in 1992, I'm proud of what you have done, sir. Thank you. Treasurer Dan Hynes; the president of the Chicago Teachers' Union, Tom Reese; Gery Chico; Paul Vallas.

And let me say a special word of thanks to your mayor for the partnership that we have enjoyed for education, for economic development and housing and so many other areas. I have constantly looked to Chicago for leadership. I tell people all the time, it's probably one of the best organized big cities in the entire world. And the work that has been done by all of you in education, in reviving the system here over the last 6 years, is exhibit A. Thank you, Mayor Daley.

I came to Chicago today in the closing days of my Presidency for two reasons. First of all, as I'll say more about in a few moments in another setting, it's doubtful that I could have become President without the support I received from the people of Chicago and the State of Illinois. It began over 9 years ago, way back in 1991, when only my mother thought I could be elected President. *[Laughter]* And through the elections of

1992 and 1996, starting with the Democratic primary and then the election of 2000, you've been very good to Hillary and Bill Clinton and to Al and Tipper Gore. And I thank you very much for that.

I also wanted to come because one of the primary reasons I ran for President is to do what I could in the White House to make a positive difference in the schools of America. I wanted to come to James Ward Elementary because I want people all across this country to know that there are schools like this, where teachers and parents and administrators and community leaders are succeeding, sometimes against great odds, in bringing educational excellence to our children. It is important that people know it can be done.

I came because I have so often told anyone who would listen about Chicago and the accomplishments of your school reform effort. Indeed, you have been very, very good to me today. I asked Paul Vallas when I came in, I said, "How many times since you've been in office have I been in your school system, in your school?" He said, "Six—six." So the way I figure it, I'm either entitled to a diploma or to a property tax bill. I can't figure out which. *[Laughter]*

You have raised standards and accountability and ended social promotion in the right way, by giving students in schools the tools they need to meet high standards and succeed—higher pay and better training for teachers and principals, after-school and summer school programs, better quality facilities. The results are clear. In this entire, huge, increasingly diverse school district, the test scores of third through eighth graders have risen in every single year since 1994. And you heard the results about James Ward.

What I want the members of the traveling press corps to know, who are here with me, is, every year this school gets students coming from China, Croatia, Central America. This school has a large Asian-American population and a very substantial African-American population, a very substantial Hispanic population and a very substantial white ethnic population. It is a picture of America's future. We have to make education work here if we want America's future to work.

Using almost every proven educational strategy, this school is demonstrating dramatically what we could accomplish in every school in America if every school would work together the way your people work together, based on a common conviction that all children can learn and a common devotion to the proven best practices in education.

Now, for the past 8 years, our administration has worked hard to make education our number one domestic priority. We started out early, doing more to help early childhood education, doing a lot to expand and improve the quality of Head Start. And I'm very proud that in our very last education budget, achieved after the election this year, we had the largest increase in Head Start in the entire history of the program. I think that's a very good sign.

But we have then focused on a proven strategy in schools: higher standards, more accountability, greater investment, equal opportunity. Simple ideas: higher standards, more accountability, greater investment, equal opportunity.

In 1992, believe it or not, only 14 States in this entire country had academic standards for core subjects. And not surprisingly, test scores were dropping as a result. As more and more kids came into the school, the student bodies were more and more diverse, more and more schools had children whose first language was not English, more and more kids whose parents could not speak English.

And as more and more kids came into the schools, ironically, a smaller percentage of the kids had parents who, themselves, were property taxpayers, who were property owners, so that the tax base of many of our districts were severely stressed.

And so, we came in with a commitment to higher standards, and we passed legislation to encourage and support States in setting those standards. In 1992 there were 14 States with core academic standards. Today, there are 49 States with statewide core academic standards.

We also wanted to increase accountability. We asked the States—indeed, we required the States—to identify schools that were failing and then develop strategies to turn them around. We then gave them funds to help

turn around or shut down failing schools, this year \$225 million in this year's budget alone to help schools identify, try to turn around, or shut down and put under new management schools that are not giving our children the education they deserve.

We also said, like Chicago, that we should end social promotion. But like Chicago, we said it's not fair to hold the kids accountable if the system is failing them. So for the very first time, we put the Federal Government on the side of the after-school programs and the summer school programs. I was so glad you mentioned that.

Four years ago, we had a \$1 million demonstration project. This year, in this education budget, we have \$850 million for after-school programs. They will serve 1.3 million kids like the children in this school, and I am very proud of that. More than half the students here participate in Federal and State funded after-school programs. And I understand there would be even more of them if you had the transportation to get them home, which is something that I would like to see addressed in the next administration.

I might also say something that won't surprise you. In every community where there are comprehensive after-school programs with real, meaningful substance, like the ones described by your principal, every community in the country where this is the case, the juvenile crime rate goes down; the juvenile delinquency rate goes down; the school attendance rate goes up; the on-time graduation rate goes up. This is a big deal.

I'm glad we've got 1.3 million kids in these programs. But there are basically 6 million kids in America who don't have anyplace to go under supervision when they get out of school. So we're barely meeting—we're right at a quarter of the national need being funded by the Federal Government. And of course, some places like Chicago are using their own funds. But we need—if I were going to be around 4 more years, one of the things I'd do is figure out how many people—[*applause*]*—wait a minute; you are going to be around, so you can participate in this—one of the things we need to do is to figure out how many kids are being served with all the Federal and the State and local*

funds, how many still need to be served. And we need to fill the gap. We've got the money. We need to fill the gap. This is a huge, huge opportunity and responsibility.

To further support young students, another thing we did was to start the America Reads program, which now has involved 1,000 universities and colleges in sending out student mentors to help make sure kids can read by the time they get out of the third grade. And there are also countless other religious and other community organizations presenting—doing it and supporting schools.

Eight years ago only 35 percent of our schools—and listen to this—3 percent of our classrooms were connected to the Internet. I said 8; the truth is, it was 1994, 6 years ago. Today, with the help of new Federal dollars to support Internet hookups and the E-rate program, which was pioneered and supported by the Vice President—the E-rate basically guarantees that every school can afford to log on to the Internet and hook up to access it, no matter how limited their resources are—we have gone from 3 percent of our classrooms to 65 percent of our classrooms connected, from 35 percent of our schools to 95 percent of our schools connected to the Internet, including this one.

And you just heard your principal say, before you had this last remodeling, even if you had the money, you couldn't do it, because the wiring wouldn't support it. You'd be amazed how many schools I've been in that can't be connected to the Internet because the wiring in the school won't support it. I was at an old school in Virginia about a year ago, and they kept laughing about how the whole place shorted out every time the classrooms tried to log on. I was in Philadelphia, where the average school building is 65 years old—the average school building—and I couldn't—I can't tell you how many school buildings I've been in just in that one city that couldn't be wired.

On the other hand, as you see in this facility, there's another thing we have in common. This building was built when Grant was President. Every night in my private office, I work on Grant's cabinet table. It was built in 1869, and it served me quite well, but I don't have to wire it. *[Laughter]* I don't have

to air-condition it. I don't have to put heating in it. All it has to do is stand up.

But as you see from this building, a lot of these old school buildings are fantastic in their construction. And things were done then that you couldn't afford to do now. But they have to be modernized. Now, in 1995 the city of Chicago found the resources to make this school safe, warm, beautiful, and usable. That makes a big difference. But across this country, there are 3½ million students who attend schools that need extensive repairs or should be replaced. There are millions of other students going to schools in house trailers.

I've been to one elementary school in Florida, in a little community in Florida, an elementary school like this one, that had 12 trailers outside it used for classes.

Now, again I will say, we've got the biggest and most diverse student body in history, more important to educate them than ever before, but a smaller percentage of the property taxpayers in most of our school districts are parents in the school than ever before. More people are renters. You know all the reasons why this is so.

I have believed for 4 years that the National Government should give both tax incentives and direct cash investment to the repair, the modernization, and the building of school facilities. I've also been in one of the mayor's new school buildings here to highlight this. We've done this—did you ever see that movie "Groundhog Day," where every day is the same thing over and over again? Every time I—Mayor Daley thought I was casting him in "Groundhog Day," I think, for a long time, because every time I'd come back here, we'd have to talk about the same thing, because we could never get anything done.

But I'm happy to report that this year, for the first time, we have finally secured \$1.2 billion to help repair schools like this one across America where the need is greatest. Now, let me say to you, one of your former United States Senators, Everett Dirksen, once said in his droll way that when you mentioned a billion here and a billion there, pretty soon you're talking about real money. And that sounds like an enormous amount of money, but the truth is that the aggregate

net need for school construction and school repair in the United States of America is over \$100 billion.

That's why I think it is so important for the Congress to continue to try to get the tax relief that I have suggested, which would, in effect, cut the cost of school financing, so that if school districts went out and floated their own bonds, or cities floated their bonds for school construction or school repair, the cost would be dramatically reduced to the taxpayers, making it easier to sell such issues to taxpayers whose kids are not in the schools. And I think we should continue to invest direct resources from the Federal Government.

But this is a big beginning. And I predict that that this program will be wildly popular throughout America, because I can see how you feel about this school building today, and I can only imagine how different it was before it was fixed 5 years ago.

Eight years ago we knew that children learn best in smaller classes, but classes were getting larger for the same reason school buildings were deteriorating: more kids, limited tax base. Today, we are in the third year of hiring 100,000 teachers for smaller classes in the early grades. If we can get them all hired, we'll be able to bring down average class size to 18 in grades K through 3 all across America.

Again, I'm really grateful to the Congress. In the last education budget, concluded after the election, we went from a budget which hired about 29,000 teachers last year to one that will hire 37,000 this coming year. So we'll be more than a third of the way home in a 6-year program. And I hope and pray that the Congress will continue to do this.

We've also funded initiatives to help recruit new teachers, retain the best teachers, train and certify more board-certified national teachers, and let every teacher keep learning on the job. And one of the things that I think Sharon Wilcher should be commended for, I understand, is giving her staff every chance to continue to learn and grow. Staff development is a big, important part of keeping the school going in the right direction.

Eight years ago there was one charter school in America, a public school which has

the freedom to chart its own mission. If every school were like James Ward, we might not need them. But the truth is, it both gives more choices to parents and provides more competition when the school system is not working, without draining resources away from the public schools. There was one 8 years ago; there are 2,000 today in this budget. We're going to be well on our way to 3,000 by the end of the year.

Eight years ago we said we wanted our kids to be safe in school, and we wanted them to have an orderly, disciplined environment. Secretary Riley has used Federal funds to help build partnerships between school districts and local police departments to support things like character education and voluntary uniform policies and zero tolerance for guns in schools. And violent crime in the schools, notwithstanding the tragic and heartbreaking incidents which have been widely reported, violent crime in our schools has fallen steadily since 1993. It is much lower today than it was 8 years ago.

Eight years ago college was priced out of reach for a lot of students. I'll never forget one night when I was Governor in the early nineties, I was in Fayetteville, Arkansas, the home of the University of Arkansas, and I went to a cafe to have a cup of coffee with a friend of mine. And I was doing what I always do; I went out and shook hands with everybody there. And there were four students there, and two of them told me they were dropping out of school. And I said, "Why?" And they said, "Well, we'll never be able to pay our student loans off—never. So we've got to drop out of school, make some money, hope we can save enough to come back, and somehow get out someday."

I also met a lot of students who thought they were going to not be able to find very good jobs if they got out. One of the things that I committed myself to do when I ran for President is to open the doors of college to all Americans. So, what have we done? With the HOPE scholarship tax credit, \$1,500 a year off the tax bill directly in the first 2 years of college, and the lifetime learning credit for junior and senior year and graduate school and for adults to go back and get training, which can be worth even more,

we are now helping 13 million Americans to go on to higher education.

We also have more affordable student loans. We've saved students \$9 billion by directly loaning them the money from the Government—\$9 billion. The average student on a \$10,000 loan today is saving \$1,300 in repayment costs over what they were 8 years ago. And it makes it a lot easier.

They also have the option to pay back the loans as a percentage of their income, which means if you want to be a schoolteacher and you know you'll never get rich, you can still borrow whatever you need to go to college, because you can pay your loan back as a percentage of your income. And if you strike oil in your backyard, you have the option to go out and pay it off the next year, anyway. It's a very good deal.

We also have had a big increase in work-study slots, a big increase in Pell grants, another big one this year, up to \$3,700 a year now, the maximum grant. And 150,000 of our young people have earned money for college while serving in AmeriCorps. I just met one of them outside on the way in—150,000 in 6 years. It took the Peace Corps 30 years to amass 150,000 volunteers. And I might just say, to the side, so much for those who say this generation of young people is self-seeking. It is the most stunning example of community service in modern American history, and it's also helping a lot of people to go on to college.

We started a program called GEAR UP, which is now serving 1.2 million disadvantaged middle school students. We send college students out to help mentor them and convince them they can go on to college, come up with a plan for the rest of their academic career until they get out of high school, and tell them right then in middle school what kinds of financial aid they can get where, so they will know from the time they're in the sixth or seventh or eighth grade that they can actually go to college and the promise will be kept.

All told, we have doubled education funding in 8 years, more investment, provided the largest expansion of college opportunity in 50 years, since the GI bill, and gotten the results for more accountability: Test scores are up; the dropout rate is down; advanced

placement courses in high school are being taken by 50 percent more kids—in the last 5 years, 50 percent more—300 percent more Hispanic kids, 500 percent more African-American kids are taking advanced placement courses.

Not surprisingly, the SAT scores are at a 30-year high in America, and the college-going rate has gone up 10 percent. This strategy works. Higher standards, great accountability, more investment, equal opportunity—it works. And we have come a long way toward an America in which every child enters school ready to learn, graduates ready to succeed, and has the opportunity to go on to college.

Of course, the lion's share of the credit belongs to people like you, to the teachers, the principals, the parents, the community leaders. But it is up to the rest of us to create a framework in which those four objectives can be pursued.

We will hear a lot of talk in the future, I'm sure, about education reform, and I applaud it. I hope that education reform all across America will become more and more a bipartisan issue. In the last four budgets that we had, we had a bipartisan budget. We fought about it. We argued about it. I had to threaten a bunch of vetoes, but in the end we had a bipartisan majority for every single thing that I talked about here today. And we ought to give credit where credit is due. This should not be a partisan issue.

When my wife was growing up in a suburb of Chicago, I'll never forget my father-in-law and my mother-in-law talking about how it was an overwhelmingly Republican place. Goldwater carried it 4 to 1 in '64, and the other 20 percent thought he was too liberal. It was a big Republican place. They never voted down a school bond issue, ever. The difference in the Republicans and the Democrats on education was where the money ought to come from.

And we ought to go back—we need to look at the reality here. Who are the children in our schools? Who are the leaders of our future? What strategies have been proven? It's not like there's no evidence here. All we tried to do was to take what you proved worked. It is not true that we tried to rewrite every local school's education policy. Dick Riley cut

Government regulation in the Department of Education by two-thirds. We just took what works.

And I hope that in the future there will continue to be a passion coming out of people in Washington and in every State capital and every community in this country of both parties. But every proposal should be measured against what we now know works, what you have proven works here. And if it works, whoever has got the idea, we ought to put it in.

But it's not like—I remember when I started this, when Hillary and I started going into classes in the late seventies, and we started trying to write new standards for our State in the early eighties, we had hunches. Educators thought they knew. There was a little evidence here and a little evidence there, but we were kind of making it up as we went along. And it was happening all over America. We've now had 15 years of solid evidence. You have given us that in schools like this one.

And so I would just say, I wanted to come here because Chicago has been good to me, and Chicago has been very good to its children these last 6 years. I wanted to come here because, as I leave office, I don't want America to let its concern for education reform and improvement abate; I want it to increase. I want more people to believe that every child can learn, and that in this global economy, every child must learn, not only for himself or herself but for the rest of us, as well.

Of course, there are big challenges that remain. But your school, like so many I visited over the past 8 years, teaches us all the most important lesson: We can do it.

Thank you very much, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:35 p.m. in the auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Sharon R. Wilcher, principal, James Ward Elementary School; Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago; Illinois State Comptroller Daniel W. Hynes; and Gery Chico, president, board of directors, and Paul Vallas, chief executive officer, Chicago Public School District.

Statement on the Family and Medical Leave Act

January 9, 2001

The first legislation I signed as President was the 1993 Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), which allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for a seriously ill child, spouse, or parent; a newborn, newly adopted, or newly placed child; or for their own serious health problem, without fear of losing their jobs. This law was an important step forward in helping America's working families balance the competing demands of work and family. Since then, I am proud to say that more than 35 million working Americans have taken leave for family and medical reasons since 1993.

In 1996 the bipartisan Commission on Family and Medical Leave issued a report assessing family and medical leave policies. The Commission found that the FMLA was working well for both workers and employers. Today the U. S. Department of Labor released the results of its new surveys, which updated the Commission's work. Once again, the data show that the Family and Medical Leave Act remains a balanced approach to meeting the needs of workers and employers. We know that when needed most, covered and eligible workers were able to take this benefit—in fact, more than 15 million have done so since January 1999, the period covered by this survey.

FMLA has given millions of workers the ability to care for their seriously ill child, spouse, or parent, or stay home with their newborn child, without worrying about whether their job will be there when they return. Our work is not done, however. We must now build on the success of FMLA by giving more workers the protections of the act and finding new ways to provide paid leave to those workers who need to take off but cannot afford to do so.

Remarks to the People of Chicago

January 9, 2001

Thank you. You know, I thought we should come over here to sort of finish the circle

of my political history in Illinois, and I didn't know if anybody would show up. *[Laughter]* Apparently, the lobby's full, too. Let me say to all of you how grateful I am to the people of Chicago and Illinois. I thank the mayor for his great leadership and for giving me a chance to be a good President for Chicago; if I didn't have a great mayor, I couldn't have been.

I asked Rich, when Bill was up here talking, I said, "You get your brother to introduce you very often?" He said, "No, but I love it every time he does it." *[Laughter]* I want to thank Bill Daley for his exemplary service as Secretary of Commerce. He was brilliant. I think he did a brilliant job in leading Vice President Gore to victory myself.

Let me just remind you, when he went over there as the chairman of that campaign, we were way behind. And then we had a great convention and we got ahead a little bit. Then they got ahead again. Daley kept them on track. We started out, they were whizzing—we were way behind when Daley took over. They thought the election was over, the Republicans did. By the time it was over, our candidate had won the popular vote, and the only way they could win the election was to stop the voting in Florida. He did a great job.

I want to thank my great friend Alexis Herman. I did not know until she started talking that her grandfather once worked here. But I appreciate it, and since she said that, in a minute I'm going to tell a family story. I want to thank Bobby Rush and your great Senator, Dick Durbin. What a great job he's done. Our treasurer, Mr. Hynes, and his daddy, Mr. Hynes, thank you for being here, Tom. Good to see you. And Secretary Riley, our Secretary of Education, and the best Secretary of Education we ever had, thank you. And if I have forgotten anybody, I apologize.

I also bring you greetings from the newest United States Senator from New York, Hillary. I told Dick, ever since Hillary won that election in New York, you should just consider that Illinois has two Democratic Senators again. She told me to tell everybody hello.

You know, this place has a special place in my heart, and I just want to briefly review the history for you. When I ran for President

in 1992, I knew I had to do pretty well in New Hampshire. And when I started out, I was running fifth. But it was a small State of tough-minded but fairminded people, and I thought if I could just get up there and stir around, I could do all right. They were good to me, and I love them, and they voted for me twice. So I got out of it alive, anyway. Then I got through all the rest of that stuff.

Then we had Super Tuesday, and I won them, but I was supposed to because it was in the South. But I knew that to be nominated, I had to do well on Saint Patrick's Day in Illinois and Michigan, and I knew some things about Illinois other people didn't know. First, I had a wife from Chicago; that didn't hurt. *[Laughter]* Second, I knew southern Illinois was south of Richmond, and I spent a lot of time down there, which other guys didn't know, but when I was a Governor. And the third thing I knew was that half the people from Chicago had kinfolks in Arkansas, which nobody knew but me. *[Laughter]*

So I figured if I sort of sidled around here, I could do pretty good. So I showed up here in 1991, and in this very room we had a meeting of all the State Democratic chairs, and I tried to make a fairly presentable impression. And I had been thinking about what we ought to do as a country for a long time, and I put my ideas out. And then we went over to the Navy pier, and I announced that David Wilhelm of Chicago would be my national campaign manager. He did a great job, and you should be very proud of him.

And then—so we rocked along and everything went according to plan, and it was time to stand and deliver in Illinois. And on the election night and the primary—it was Saint Patrick's Day, 1992—now, I remember marching in the Saint Patrick's Day parade in Chicago. It was an interesting experience. *[Laughter]* Most people were waving all five fingers. Think about it. *[Laughter]* And on election night, a majority of the people in Illinois gave me their votes in the primary over my opponents. And I knew then it was just a matter of time. And the people in Michigan were very good to me. We won there by 10 points, but by more in Illinois. And ever since then, I have known that I could count on Illinois, that when the chips

were down, Chicago and the State of Illinois would be there for the Clinton/Gore ticket. And I am profoundly grateful.

We had the party that election night downstairs in the lobby, where the overflow crowd is, and I'm going to go down there and see them in a minute. And every day for 8 years, in my little private office, right off the Oval Office, every single day for 8 years, I have looked at the picture of Hillary and me standing with the confetti, the green confetti, coming down in the lobby of this grand old hotel, on Saint Patrick's Day.

So I wanted to come here to say goodbye and to say thank you. But let me tell you what else I want you to know. I have a—look, I've got a Senator to support, that's what I've got—and I'm not really saying goodbye. I'm just saying goodbye as President.

But let me tell you, I also have another picture of this hotel, which I don't think I've ever told anybody in Illinois. I have another picture that I have seen every night for the last 4 years—for the last 8 years, excuse me. It is a picture of my mother in early 1946, and my father, who were living here, when my mother went home to Arkansas to have me and my father was killed in a car wreck driving home. And right before that happened, they were here in this hotel with another young couple having what my mother told me was one of the happiest nights of her life. And she gave me that picture when I was a young man.

And I put it up on my desk in the White House in the Residence. And I look at this hotel in that picture twice, every day for 8 years, once in Saint Patrick's Day, 1992, and once when my mother and father were here before I was born. This is an important place for me, and you're important people to me. And I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Now, here's the second thing I want to say. Now, I want to say two things, seriously. Number one, this is a different, a stronger, a more united, and a better country than it was 8 years ago. The ideas we had worked. They worked. And let me just take you on a little walk down memory lane here.

Eight years ago, we had high unemployment; the deficit was \$290 billion; the debt

of the country had been quadrupled in the previous 12 years. Now we have the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, the lowest female unemployment rate in 40 years, the lowest minority unemployment rate ever recorded, 22.5 million new jobs. The deficit has been turned into the biggest surpluses in history, and when this year is over, my last budget will have paid down \$500 billion on the national debt. We can be out of debt in 10 years for the first time since 1835.

Now, in addition to that, Bobby Rush said I wanted to be President for the little people; I did. I didn't know the difference in little and big people. I was so naive when my predecessor referred to me in rather derisive terms as the Governor of a small southern State—I was so naive, I thought he was paying me a compliment. *[Laughter]* And I still do. *[Laughter]*

People ask me what was my Presidency about. It was about those 22.5 million people that have jobs now that didn't, about the 25 million people that took advantage of the family and medical leave law, about the 13 million people that took advantage of the HOPE scholarship tax credit and the other tax credits to go on and have family members in college, about the 90 percent of kids under 2 who are immunized against serious childhood diseases for the first time, about the 3.3 million children who have been covered with health insurance for the first time under the Children's Health Insurance Program. We got the uninsured population going down for the first time in 12 years. That's what it's about—about the 1.3 million kids in after-school programs with Federal funds for the first time. And I could go on and on.

It's about people—600,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers couldn't get handguns because of the Brady bill. How many people are alive because of that, because of the 100,000 police on the street? That's what this was about. It was about trying to bring America together, to create more opportunity for every responsible citizen, to make our diversity a blessing instead of a source of division, to be a force for peace and freedom and democracy and decency around the world. And I am proud of where America is today.

I'm also proud that we did have an urban policy, an urban policy that gave 15 million

families a family tax cut because the people weren't making enough money working full time to get their kids out of poverty, and now they can, because of the earned-income tax credit; an urban policy in which the Vice President ran an empowerment zone program that brought billions of dollars of new investment into cities all across America; an urban policy which cut the welfare rolls in half, which diversified public housing—and Chicago is leading the way in that—which gave people a sense that we could go forward together again.

Now, this was about people, putting them first, preparing them for a new century and a whole new era in human affairs. Look how much more diverse Chicago is now then it was 10 years ago, racially, religiously. Look how we're learning to live together across all the lines that have previously divided us. That's what I want for America, one America, going forward together, helping each other, making the most of what we can do.

You know, politics and public life is a lot like athletics. It's a team sport. I don't care how good the quarterback is or the center. If you don't have a good team, you're nowhere. You were my team, and we won for America.

So whether you're old or young, white, black, or brown or whatever, straight or gay, abled or disabled—we're all disabled some way or another—I thank you, because you were my team, and we won for America. And I want you to know—the second thing I want to say is this. America is always about becoming. It's always about new beginnings. It's always about tomorrow. The reason we're still around here after over 220 years is that we've always had a focus on the future. We always thought we could do better. We always thought we had a moral obligation to do better. We always thought we could widen the circle of opportunity and deepen the meaning of freedom and strengthen the bonds of our community and be better neighbors around the world. We always thought that.

I still believe that. And you cannot let any disappointment you may feel in this last election take away any pride you feel in what Al Gore and I and our team were able to accomplish with you these last 8 years. And you cannot let—you cannot let anything

deter you from your determination to be the best citizen you can be, to make Chicago and Illinois and America as great as they can be.

I'm telling you, there are still a lot of big challenges out there, but I'm leaving this country in good shape and the best is still to be. You just rear back, stay together, and keep fighting for tomorrow.

God bless you. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:50 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Palmer House Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago; Illinois State Comptroller Daniel W. Hynes and his father, Thomas C. Hynes, member, Democratic State Central Committee; and David Wilhelm, former national chair, Democratic National Committee.

Remarks at a Private Party in Chicago

January 9, 2001

We had a rally upstairs. You heard them, didn't you? In the ballroom. A little loud. And I hope we didn't interrupt you. So there's an overflow crowd in the lobby. And they said they have to go through the edge of another ballroom. *[Laughter]* So here I am. *[Laughter]*

So I've invaded your dinner. *[Laughter]* Well, thank you for the wonderful, warm welcome. I'm in Chicago today to basically say goodbye to the people of Chicago and Illinois as President.

It's a very happy day for me in many ways. This hotel—since you're here for that, I should tell you, this hotel plays a huge role in my life. And I have two pictures of this hotel. That's what I told them upstairs, I have two pictures of this hotel which I look at every day of my life. One is of the lobby on Saint Patrick's Day of 1992. Hillary and I are standing there with green graffiti—not graffiti, what do you call it?—confetti, not graffiti, confetti—*[laughter]*—it's been a long day and a long 8 years—*[laughter]*—confetti coming down, because that's the night that we won the Democratic primary in Illinois, which basically sealed my nomination.

The second picture was my mother and my father dining here in 1946. And that's in my private office in the Residence of the

White House. I look at it every night—every single night. So I've seen those two pictures of this place every day for 8 years. This is also where I basically kicked off my campaign in Illinois in December of 1991, and so I'm very happy to be here.

And I wanted to come here for my last appearance in Chicago as President. And I want to tell all of you that it's been an honor to serve. I'm glad my country is in better shape than it was 8 years ago. I thank all of you for the role that you've played in revitalizing our country. And I wish only the best for the future.

I've said many times, and I'll say again, America may find people who do this job better than I have, but you will never find anybody who loved doing it any more.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. in the Empire Room at the Palmer House Hilton Hotel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to an Overflow Crowd in Chicago

January 9, 2001

Let me ask you a question. Did you hear what went on upstairs? This is troubling. Half are saying yes; half are saying no. Let me say to all of you, I'll give you a brief version of what I said there.

First, I want to thank Chicago and the State of Illinois for being so good to me. I thank Mayor Daley for his leadership and partnership and for making it possible to prove that our crime policies and our welfare policies and our economic policies would all work, because they worked here in Chicago.

I thank Bobby Rush for helping me in '92. I thank Bobby and Dick Durbin and the entire crowd in your congressional delegation who have been so good to me. But Senator Durbin, I especially thank you for all the things you've done. Thank you.

I thank Bill Daley for being a superb Secretary of Commerce and a brilliant campaign manager. What I told them upstairs was, Bill Daley ran the first Presidential campaign in history that was so clearly winning, a court

had to stop the vote in order to change the outcome. It was brilliant.

Now, I want to say two other things. Upstairs, I said that this hotel was very important in my life. I spoke to the Democratic chairs here in December of '91. I had my party here on Saint Patrick's Day in 1992 when we won the primary. Were you there? Some of you were there. And I still have a picture in my little office off the Oval Office of Hillary and me standing here in this lobby with the confetti coming down on Saint Patrick's Day. I've had it there every single day for 8 years to remind me that Chicago and Illinois made me President.

I thank you for voting for us overwhelmingly in '92, in '96. I thank you for a fabulous convention in 1996, which was a joy. And I thank you for sticking with us in the year 2000, which you did. I thank you for that.

I thought—it was really important to me to come here before I leave office to say thank you. And I also want to bring you greetings from the new Senator from the State of New York. Hillary said to tell you hello. And I told Senator Durbin that you should just sort of consider that Illinois also has two Democratic Senators again.

I am honored to have been President at a time when a lot of changes were going on in America and in the world. And as I look back, I am profoundly grateful that our country is so much stronger and more united and more successful and so much more future-oriented and self-confident today than it was 8 years ago when we started. And you had a lot to do with that.

I believe politics and public service is a team sport. And you can have a great quarterback; you can have a great captain; but if you don't have a team, you're going to lose every time. So you were my team, and we won for America together.

So when you think about the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years or the lowest minority unemployment rate ever recorded or 22.5 million new jobs or 25 million people taking advantage of the family leave law or 13 million more people getting college tax aid through the HOPE scholarship tax credit or over 3 million more kids with health insurance or 90 percent of our little kids with immunization against serious diseases for the

first time or more land set aside for protection for all time than any time in 100 years—when you say all those things—that wasn't just me; it wasn't just us with the Democrats and the Congress; it was you, too. We did it together. We were a team, and I thank you for that.

The last thing I want to say is this. I want you to keep fighting for the future. And I'll be there with you. I'll just be a citizen, but I can serve well. I've still got a voice. I've still got a heart, and I've got a mind to spend the rest of my life trying to pay America back for all the good things the American people gave me these last 25 years.

So don't get discouraged; don't be frustrated by what happened in November. But don't be passive. Just take a breath and keep looking forward and keep doing what will come naturally—to fight for the things we believe in, to build the future we want for all of our children together.

I can honestly tell you that in 11 days at high noon, when I walk out of the White House for the last time as President, I will leave more optimistic and more idealistic about the people of this country and their potential, and especially about the young people of this country, than I was the day I took the oath of office in 1993.

I love you. Thank you. God bless you. Goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:37 p.m. in the lobby of the Palmer House Hyatt Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago and Gore 2000 campaign director William M. Daley. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on Iraq

January 9, 2001

Dear _____:

Pursuant to section 575 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2001 (Public Law 106-429), enclosed is a report on plans for the provision of humanitarian assistance for the Iraqi people and for the commencement

of broadcasting operations by the Iraqi National Congress.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Robert C. Byrd, chairman, and Ted Stevens, ranking member, Senate Committee on Appropriations; and C.W. Bill Young, chairman, and David R. Obey, ranking member, House Committee on Appropriations. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 10.

Interview With Allison Payne of WGN-TV in Chicago

January 9, 2001

Accomplishments in the Final Days

Ms. Payne. Congratulations, sir.

The President. Thank you. Hi.

Ms. Payne. I understand you're working just as hard these last few weeks as you have been the last 8 years. What's driving you?

The President. Well, I get paid until January the 20th. I think I ought to show up for work. Also, I think there's a lot of things to do. We just had, in some ways, the best legislative year we've had, certainly in the last 4 years. We had the biggest increase in investment in education, the first time we've ever gotten any funds for school repair and construction, a big increase in funds for the after-school programs that have been so important to Chicago. We got the new markets initiative that I worked hard on here with Congressman Danny Davis and Speaker Hastert, across party lines, to get more investment into poor areas in America, and a big debt relief initiative for the poor countries. We're doing a lot of stuff here.

And I went to Vietnam. I was able to set aside some more land, preserve it. I'm still working, and I'm going to work to the very end. And of course, I'm trying one last time to make peace in the Middle East. I'm doing the best I can.

Chicago

Ms. Payne. What are you going to miss most about Chicago?

The President. Oh, the people. I love it here. But I'll still come a lot. It's still Hillary's home; a lot of her people are from here. A

lot of her friends are here, and I've got the friends of a lifetime here. So I'll still come a lot. And I hope that for the rest of my life I can be a good citizen and really do some good things for America and around the world. So I'll be around. I just have—I fell in love with Chicago the first time I came here, and nothing ever changed. It just got better.

Richard and William Daley

Ms. Payne. Tell me something about your relationship with the Daley brothers we don't already know. I know it's a good one.

The President. It is good. Well, the mayor I've known for some time, and I knew Bill actually a little before then. I just think Mayor Daley is a great mayor. In addition to being a friend, he's a great mayor. He's not afraid of new ideas. He'll work with anybody. He's always trying to get something done. And he enabled me to be an effective President, because we had these—whether it was welfare reform or housing or economic development or you name it, whatever we were doing, I knew Chicago would be on the cutting edge—community policing, sensible gun safety measures, all of that stuff.

And Bill Daley, of course, and I have been very close, because he was in my Cabinet. He was an absolutely superb Secretary of Commerce. I know he's hated to leave it, but he answered Vice President Gore's call. And what I said tonight was true; we were way behind when he took over, and we won the popular vote, and when they get all the votes counted in Florida, we'll see what happened there. But Bill Daley's got a lot to be proud of, and Chicago should be very proud of him.

Administration Accomplishments

Ms. Payne. What are you most proud of, sir?

The President. I am most proud of the fact that all Americans, not just a few, are better off than they were 8 years ago and that there's a greater sense of community here. I was very worried when I took office that dividing our country was becoming a habit, and a bad one. And I think the country's more united now across racial and income lines and religious lines. And I think we understand we need each other. So, yes,

we're better off economically, but we're a stronger country, too. And I'm very proud of that.

President's Legacy

Ms. Payne. How do you hope Chicagoans and all Americans will remember William Jefferson Clinton?

The President. As a person who did what he said he'd do when he ran for President, who put the American people first, who helped to prepare us for the 21st century, and left the country a little better than he found it.

President's Future Plans

Ms. Payne. Sir, what are you going to do? Are you going to come back and watch a couple Cubs games with us?

The President. I certainly hope so. I hope so. Mr. Sosa says he'll keep inviting me, and I want to do that. I'll stay very active. I now have a United States Senator to support and a daughter to finish educating, so I'm going to go out and make a living. But I'm going to try to spend about half my time on public service, and then as soon as I can do so, I would like to spend my whole life just trying to give back what I've learned and the experiences I've had as President. I think I can do a lot of good for the country and for the world as a citizen. I'm going to do my best.

The Presidency

Ms. Payne. May I just say that I've been so inspired by your drive and your fire. Can you tell the common man a little bit what it's like, from your perspective as a common man from Hope, Arkansas, to be the man sitting inside the Oval Office?

The President. All I can tell you is, it's still the biggest thrill—it's as big a thrill for me today to land on the back lawn of the White House in the helicopter, to walk into the White House and spend the night, to walk over to the Oval Office every morning. It's as big a thrill for me today as it was on the first day I showed up as President.

I believe in the promise of this country. I believe in the American system. Politics is a rough game, and it's a contact sport, and if you can't take a hit, you shouldn't play. But if you're prepared to pay the price and

try to bring people together, the American people can do anything, and we can meet any challenge. We can overcome any obstacle. We can seize any opportunity. And for me, I will leave the White House more idealistic and optimistic about America and its promise and its young people than the day I took office.

Ms. Payne. Listen, I baked you a homemade pound cake, but it's stuck with our makeup artist on the other side of the room. So I'm going to have to send you a fresh one to the White House.

The President. Would you do it? I'd be honored to have it.

Ms. Payne. Absolutely, and I want you to taste it. Everybody in Chicago has had it. Ask Mayor Daley. He gets one every year.

The President. I'm nuts about pound cake. I love it.

Ms. Payne. God bless you. God bless you, sir.

The President. Thank you.

Ms. Payne. All the best to your family.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview was taped at 7:17 p.m. in Grand Ballroom at the Palmer House Hilton Hotel for later broadcast. In his remarks, the President referred to Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago and Gore 2000 campaign director William M. Daley. The transcript was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 10. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks on the Unveiling of a Statue at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial

January 10, 2001

The President. Calm down.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. You still have to do what I ask for 9 more days. Calm down. *[Laughter]*

Secretary Herman, thank you for your eloquence and your passion on this issue. I thank all the members of the administration who are here: Secretary Babbitt, thank you; Secretary Shalala; Secretary Slater; SBA Director Alvarez; Janice Lachance. I thank the

other members who are here who supported this in every way.

Thank you, Max Cleland, for the power of your example and the largeness of your heart. Thank you, Tom Harkin. Every day you redeem the promise of your brother's life and your love for him in what you have done. Thank you, Senator Levin and Congressman Levin; Congressman Eliot Engel. I like your beard. *[Laughter]* I had a note that said, Eliot Engel was here, and I thought instead it was Fidel Castro for a moment. *[Laughter]* But you look very good.

Thank you, Jim Langevin, for running for Congress and for winning. Ken Apfel, our Social Security Administrator, is here. Thank you. Thank you, Justin Dart, for seeding the crowd with signs. I think you must have something to do—*[inaudible]*.

I want to thank all the donors, and a special word of appreciation to two folks who did a lot of our work—one who has been acknowledged—thank you, Jonathan Young; thank you, Bill White. Thank you very much. You guys have been great. Thank you. And I, too, want to thank Larry Halprin and Bob Graham.

This whole memorial has exceeded my wildest dreams for it. It gives you a feel that is completely different from any other memorial. It is grand and beautiful, all right, but it is so accessible, in a way that I think would have pleased President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt. And of course, this last addition is even more than the icing on the cake. But I know that for Larry and for Bob this has been a labor of love and honor. And we honor them for what they have done. Thank you very much.

I would like to also say to all of you that, as a person who has loved the history of my country and tried to learn more about it every day, it would have been under any circumstances an honor in my life to become friends with Jim Roosevelt and his wife, Anne—and Ann. But what I want you to know is they are the true heirs of their ancestors because they are exceptional and wonderful people, and I'm very glad to be here with them.

Last Saturday marked the 60th anniversary of President Roosevelt's speech on the four freedoms. It is fitting to remember it here

today, for this is the story of freedom in this memorial: Freedom's steady advance across the land, from the school room to the voting booth to the corridors of power; freedom's open arms embracing the tired, the poor, the huddled masses from every shore; freedom's rising tide across the globe as more people and more places secure the blessings of liberty; and freedom's march for people with disabilities here at home and around the world.

This is a monument to freedom, the power of every man and woman to transcend circumstance, to laugh in the face of fate, to make the most of what God has given. This is a statue of freedom. I, too, am glad that the statue is built at a scale not larger than life but lifelike. Not raised on a pedestal but available, touchable, for people who are in wheelchairs and people who cannot see. The power of the statue is in its immediacy, and in its reminder to all who touch, all who see, all who walk or wheel around, that they, too, are free, but every person must claim freedom.

In April of 1997, when I asked for a depiction of FDR's disability here at the memorial, I, like every other American who had paid attention, knew that he went to some length to hide his disability on almost all occasions. But he lived in a different time, when people thought being disabled was being unable, though he proved them wrong every day. He was a canny fellow, and he didn't want to risk any vote loss by letting people see him in a wheelchair. *[Laughter]*

Of the more than 10,000 photos in his archives, only four show him as he is depicted in this magnificent statue today. He knew the impact of the image, and he knew, seen wrong in those days, it could have ended his political life. But he also knew he had an obligation to use it when appropriate. On rare occasion, he did so to great effect. His speech writer Sam Rosenman said he could never forget, as he put it, "The look of courage and faith and self-reliance and affection in the faces of disabled Americans who were given the privilege of seeing FDR struggle with his own disability and the joy of watching him overcome it."

For example, in the summer of 1944 President Roosevelt spent an afternoon at a naval

hospital in Hawaii. The men there had been seriously wounded, and many had lost limbs in the war. He insisted on wheeling himself into their wards. He wanted to show them that he, the President of the United States, could not walk any better than they, but he could still show courage and hope and inner strength.

He said that returning Americans with disabilities to active and productive lives was a great objective for the Nation, one of the greatest causes of humanity. It's hard to believe that that was a very unusual statement to make back then.

It was one of the basic tenets of the New Deal, the inherent worth of all Americans, our shared responsibility to empower them. That is what we have sought to do here for 8 years, to avoid any barrier that would keep the potential of any American from being fully tapped.

We have tried to reward work and give people the support they need to live their lives in freedom. Even in the last days of the administration, we are still working on efforts to increase employment of Americans with disabilities, to provide alternatives to institutions, and we're going out with a report on the progress we've made and what we still have to do.

We must always remember that in the end, the story of America is the story of freedom and interdependence. The crowd that started us off pledged their lives, their fortunes, their sacred honor to forming a more perfect Union. That's what they said.

What does that mean? It means that people can never fulfill their own lives completely unless they're working with their neighbors to help them fulfill theirs. And so we have to constantly work to push back the frontiers of our imagination, to advance the cause of both freedom and community—that interdependence which makes life richer. That means we have to encourage each other along the way, as well.

President Roosevelt once told a little girl who, like him, had been stricken with polio, that she must keep up the splendid fight. For someone else who has not suffered in that way, to say it is splendid, for Max Cleland to labor all those years against his horrible war injuries to become a great Member of

the United States Senate, seems almost out of place. But the truth is we have to learn to talk to each other that way.

The thing I like about the disability movement today is, it has moved beyond trying to get the rest of us to do the right thing out of compassion, doing the right thing because it's the right thing and the only sensible thing to do.

I want you all to go out when you leave here not just to look at the statue but to read—in letters or Braille—the quote behind the statue by Eleanor Roosevelt, who pointed out that before he was stricken with polio, President Roosevelt had never been forced to become a truly great man, had never been forced to develop those habits of infinite patience and persistence without which life cannot be fully lived. And I want you to think about that.

The reason this is a story of freedom is that what matters most in life is the spirit and the journey of the spirit. And we lug along that journey whatever body God gives us and whatever happens to it along the way and whatever mind we were born with. But a clever mind and a beautiful body can themselves be disabilities on the spirit journey.

And so we celebrate freedom and dignity for incredibly brave people whose lives were all embodied by that incredibly brave man, whose disability made him more free for his spirit to soar and his Nation to survive and prosper.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon. In his remarks, he referred to Justin Dart, former Chair, President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities; Representative Jim Langevin, newly elected to Rhode Island's Second Congressional District; event organizer Jonathan Young; Bill White, White House Office of Political Liaison for Disability Outreach; landscape architect Lawrence Halprin; sculptor Robert Graham; FDR's grandson James Roosevelt, and his wife, Anne; and FDR's granddaughter Ann Roosevelt.

Remarks at a Luncheon Honoring Senator Max Baucus

January 10, 2001

Well, Max, I thank you for what you said. But you were entirely too generous to a person who can't run for anything anymore. [Laughter] I thought, wow, I wish I had that on tape 4 years ago. [Laughter] And in terms of going to meetings without cue cards, look, when you're dealing with a guy from Montana who knows who Sisyphus was, you can't carry your cue cards, right? [Laughter]

I want to say, first of all, how honored I am to be here. I like Max Baucus a lot, and I respect him. And I want to say just a few words about that, but I also want to join in what you said, because this is maybe one of the last public occasions I'll have to say it in Washington, DC. I don't think there's any way for me to explain to the rest of you what having Tom Daschle as a leader of our crowd in the Senate has meant to me and to the United States of America. And I do agree that his leadership had a lot to do with the fact that we were able to pick up five seats. And I was honored to work with him, and he's been great.

And I also think you were right about my good friend Harry Reid. You know, Harry Reid never lifts his voice. He talks real soft. And pretty soon you're looking for your billfold. [Laughter] He is such a good man and so effective, and I am very grateful to him.

Mary Landrieu and I have been friends for many, many years, as she's from my neighboring State of Louisiana, which has been very good to me and whom I'm very grateful. And I'm thrilled that she got elected to the Senate and has done so well. And I am especially proud of Maria Cantwell because Maria Cantwell is one of the people who gave up her seat in 1994 that turned the miserable economic condition of this country and that terrible deficit around. And she got beat because of it. And she didn't whine around. She went out and made a

bunch of money and went on with her life. And then she ran for the Senate.

And they have this unusual system in Washington State—they actually count all the votes. *[Laughter]* And when they were counted, she was a Senator for Washington. And we are thrilled. And I'm very proud of her. And you mark my words, she's going to have a big impact on this country, and she has, I think, a well-deserved chance to serve.

I kind of am partial to this new crowd of Senators. It got me in the Senate spouses' club, that's true, where I intend to be a very vigorous member. I may run for president of the Senate spouses' club. *[Laughter]*

Some of you may have seen this in the paper, but I can't help mentioning it again, since Max said something about deregulation of the airlines. Hillary and Chelsea and I for 8 years have gone to Foundry Methodist Church here in Washington, and the minister there is a great guy. So he says, "I want you to come give a little talk on Sunday." I said, "What do you want me to say?" He said, "Just talk about whatever you want." So I said, "Well, I'm going to stand up and thank the church for everything they've done," and I had this whole long list of things they've done. It's a wonderful place. So I had this list of things.

And I walked into church, and they gave me a program, and I see that I am giving the sermon, and the sermon has a title. And the title of the sermon is "Reflections and Anticipation." So I get up and give my little talk, and I thank them all for everything I want to thank them for. And I said, "I didn't know what I was talking about until I got here and read it in the program, but do you want to know what my anticipations are? I anticipate my Christian spirit will be sorely tested by a return to commercial air travel." *[Laughter]* "I anticipate being disoriented in large rooms for several months because when I walk in, nobody will play a song anymore." *[Laughter]*

So anyway, I gave them a few anticipations. I anticipate that Terry McAuliffe will still ask me to help raise money for the Democratic Party, and I hope he will. *[Applause]* Thank you.

But to get back to the main event here, I'm here for a lot of reasons. First, I love Montana. I was a Governor for a dozen years, and former Governor of Montana Ted Schwindler was one of the best friends I ever had in the Governors Conference. And in 1985, Hillary and Chelsea and I went to Montana before the Governors met in Idaho and had what maybe was the best family vacation we ever had. It is the most spectacularly beautiful place I believe I have ever seen anywhere in the world. In 1992, we actually carried Montana, maybe because Ross Perot got so many votes. But anyway, for whatever reason, I was proud to have those votes in the column. *[Laughter]*

Secondly, I believe that Montana is—first of all, as you saw in these last elections, we lost both the Congress and the Governor's race. It was a pretty closely divided State, and we have a real chance there, I think, to bring the Democrats back. But the key to that is Senator Baucus winning reelection. Now, the people of Montana know he's done a good job, but I'm not sure they know just how good a job he has done. And I want to talk about that, because I'm interested in the country, and I'm not running for anything anymore.

But the reason I always liked Max Baucus is, he cares about ideas; he cares about things. And he also cares about how things are going to work. He's not just a talker. He cares about whether something will work or not. He had—last summer, I think it was, he had an economic development conference in Montana and then set up an action group to implement the ideas that they came up with. That's not something Senators normally do.

But a lot of rural parts of this country and a lot of people that have depended on natural resource-based economies have not done all that well in this economy. And the farmers have been having a terrible time in the last 2 or 3 years. And the ones that get a lot of payments based on the way the old farm bill doles the money out, when we come out with the emergency appropriations, they're getting by. But it's really been tough out there.

So Max actually decided to do something about it. And I think that makes him a better legislator, because if you think about how

something's going to work, you're more likely to vote for the right kind of bills and draft them in the right way. And I am particularly interested in that.

I also am interested in the fact that he wants to bring the benefits of high technology to people in rural America, to small communities, to the Native American reservations, to the schools. This is a big deal. I really believe we can skip a whole generation of economic development in places that have been badly left behind in this country if we get the technology out there in the right way and train the people to use it.

And the third thing that I want to say is, even after the 20th, he'll be the ranking Member on the Senate Finance Committee. They're going to write tax legislation that will have an impact on this economy. They're going to deal with Medicare reform and the question of whether and in what form the seniors of this country will get a prescription drug benefit under Medicare. They're going to continue to deal with trade.

And you heard him say it, so I'll just say thank you back. I did my best at least to create a consensus within the Democratic Party on all the big issues and then to work with the Republicans wherever we could. And this year we actually had the best year, in some ways, we've ever had. We passed the China trade bill, the Africa/Caribbean trade bill. We passed the most massive debt relief for poor countries in the world, if they'll put the money—if, but only if, they'll put the money back into education, health care, and development in their own countries. We lifted the earnings limit on Social Security. We passed the largest bill in history—thank you, Mary Landrieu and others—to buy land and preserve it for all time to come. Permanent funding has never been done before like this. And we passed the best education bill we've ever passed.

When I—4 years ago we weren't funding any kids in after-school programs. This year the Federal Government will fund 1.3 million children in after-school programs, to learn and stay off the street and out of trouble. And I was yesterday in Chicago in a school that's getting some of that money.

So we had a great, great year. But there's a lot of big questions that have to be faced

about the whole issue of globalization. And I've talked *ad nauseam* about this. I went to England and gave a speech with Tony Blair about it, and I don't want to bore you with all of it again. But let me just say that the growing interdependence of people on this increasingly shrinking planet, and the explosion of population—almost a hundred percent of which is supposed to be in the poorest countries of the world—and the phenomenal explosion of wealth in this country, which has helped everybody—yes, we've got more billionaires and more millionaires, but we also have people in the lower 20 percent of the population the last 3 years had the biggest percentage increase in their income.

If you look at all that good and all those storm clouds, we've got to work out a new agreement with other wealthy countries about how we're going to continue to expand trade and how it's going to work in a way that lifts the lives of people everywhere. And if we don't, then you're going to see a lot of these countries' democracies themselves under stress.

How are we going to do it in a way that helps everybody? And when a country has a noneconomic problem and they're a net trading partner of ours, what are we supposed to do about it? That's another thing this Congress did for which I'm very grateful, the Plan Colombia program. You know, it may or may not work, but if we lose the oldest democracy in South America because the narcotraffickers and the guerrillas have teamed up, that's not a good omen for the 21st century.

These are big questions. You want somebody, to go back to Max's term, who doesn't have to look at his note cards. This guy thinks about these kinds of things all the time, and he understands how these big sort of trade issues affect people in Montana. He understands why it's important to have sustainable economies in other parts of the world so they can buy the products that people in his State want to sell. And he can connect it all to what he's trying to do to help empower people at the grassroots level to make a decent living, get a good education, and hook into the technology of the 21st century.

We need people like this in the Senate. We need people who read things and think

about things. I tell people all the time, the main reason I'm for campaign finance reform is so people like Max and Harry and Mary and Maria and Tom won't have to spend quite so much time at fundraisers like this, because if you're from a little State and it costs you a lot of money to run, by the time you run all over the country—especially if you're on a crowded airplane—you're too tired to read a book or call the guy that wrote an article that struck you as interesting or meet with a bunch of people who have got a new idea.

That's why Max Baucus—and from my honest opinion now—this is all the Montana-specific issues—but when I think about America, to have somebody like him in the most important position our party can have on the Senate Finance Committee, who has read and thought about these issues and tried to make some sense out of them and who thinks about how the big things translate into the practical daily lives of ordinary citizens, that's a big deal for a democracy. And the more complicated the world gets and the more we'll have to process all this information and make decisions in a hurry without knowing everything, the more you're going to need people like Max Baucus in positions of responsibility.

So I thank you for helping him today, and I hope you'll help him all the way through to the election next year.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. at the Caucus Room Restaurant. In his remarks, he referred to Dr. J. Philip Wogaman, senior minister, Foundry United Methodist Church; Democratic fundraiser Terence McAuliffe; former Reform Party Presidential candidate Ross Perot; and Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom.

Remarks Honoring Dorothy Height at the National Council of Negro Women

January 10, 2001

I'd like to thank Representative Sheila Jackson Lee, and Donald Payne from New Jersey, and our neighbor, Elijah Cummings, thank you for being here. I've actually known Dorothy Height for several years. Before I

became President I knew her, thanks to my wife. They were on the board of the Children's Defense Fund 25 years ago, when I was still a child. *[Laughter]*

And I was just looking at her speak today, as she was just up here speaking, and how fluid and eloquent she was, and I thought, she has more energy at 88 than most people have at 22.

I wanted to come here to help you with your Dorothy Height's legacy initiative, to pay off the mortgage of this magnificent old building. It's an extra added treat to see the chair where Mr. Lincoln posed for Mathew Brady. I love those old photographs. And I have two myself, Dorothy, that I've collected over the years—two that Abraham Lincoln sat for in 1861 and 1862, as well as a copy from the original plate of the photograph he took in June of 1860, 2 weeks before he became the nominee of the Republican Party for President.

So I'm honored to be here with that memory and that legacy, but mostly with your legacy. And I think you belong in this building, and you belong midway between the Capitol and the White House, so you can keep an eye on both parties. *[Laughter]*

You know, Dorothy said that the National Council of Negro Women has been in business since 1935. You just think about what America was like in 1935 and think about all the hills we've climbed since then. And as generous as you were to me, frankly, all I did was what was self-evident, what I believed in my heart. What you have had to do was to change the laws and the heart of America, and you did it in a magnificent fashion, and I thank you.

You mentioned our efforts to build one America. Ben Johnson has done a great job heading our one America effort in our offices there. I hope that in the future this will be a nonpartisan effort, because America is growing so much more racially and ethnically and religiously diverse.

I was in a grade school in Chicago yesterday, where half the kids were Asian, 18 percent were African-American, 17.5 percent were Hispanic, the rest were white ethnic, mostly Croatian. And that's where we're going. And it's going to be a great ride if we get it right. But whatever is still there

we need to give up, we're going to have to shed it, because we don't have a lot of time to waste now.

And I think that if you look all over the world, all the trouble spots of the world, most countries and most people get in trouble when they try to organize folks around hatred or disdain or disregard for people or groups who are different from them. They either look different than they do, they worship God in a different way, or they're just different. And it's hard to get to the point in life where you can have an honest disagreement with somebody and still acknowledge that their humanity is just as valid as yours and that life's a lot more interesting because they're not just like you are.

If everybody were just like us, then life wouldn't be nearly as interesting as it is. Sometimes, life in America is a little too interesting to suit me, but—[laughter]—but still, it's good. You know, it keeps us flourishing, and it keeps the country forever young.

I honestly believe that Dorothy is so young after all these years of effort because she has given herself to a larger and higher calling. If you get up every day and do good, it eventually will show on your face; it will be heard in your voice. It just is unavoidable. And her beauty and youth is a testament of the timelessness of her cause. And I'm just glad to be one of her foot soldiers here today.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:48 p.m. in the lobby. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Executive Order 13187—The President's Disability Employment Partnership Board

January 10, 2001

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App.), and in order to promote the employment of people with disabilities, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Establishment and Composition of the Board. (a) There is hereby estab-

lished the President's Disability Employment Partnership Board (Board).

(b) The Board shall be composed of not more than 15 members who shall be appointed by the President for terms of 2 years. The membership shall include individuals who are representatives of business (including small business), labor organizations, State or local government, disabled veterans, people with disabilities, organizations serving people with disabilities, and researchers or academicians focusing on issues relating to the employment of people with disabilities, and may include other individuals representing entities involved in issues relating to the employment of people with disabilities as the President finds appropriate.

(c) The President shall designate a Chairperson from among the members of the Board to serve a term of two years.

(d) Members and the Chairperson may be reappointed for subsequent terms and may continue to serve until their successors have been appointed.

Sec. 2. Functions. (a) The Board shall provide advice and information to the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of Labor, and other appropriate Federal officials with respect to facilitating the employment of people with disabilities, and shall assist in other activities that promote the formation of public-private partnerships, the use of economic incentives, the provision of technical assistance regarding entrepreneurship, and other actions that may enhance employment opportunities for people with disabilities.

(b) In carrying out paragraph (a) of this section, the Board shall:

(i) develop and submit to the Office of Disability Employment Policy in the Department of Labor a comprehensive written plan for joint public-private efforts to promote employment opportunities for people with disabilities and improve their access to financial institutions and commercial and business enterprises;

(ii) identify strategies that may be used by employers, labor unions, national and international organizations, and Federal, State, and local officials to increase employment opportunities for people with disabilities; and

(iii) coordinate with the Office of Disability Employment Policy in the Department of Labor in promoting the collaborative use of public and private resources to assist people with disabilities in forming and expanding small business concerns and in enhancing their access to Federal procurement and other relevant business opportunities. Public resources include those of the Department of Labor, the Small Business Administration, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Education, the Department of Defense, the Department of Treasury, the Department of Veterans Affairs, the Federal Communications Commission, and of executive departments and agency offices responsible for small, disadvantaged businesses utilization.

(c) The Board shall submit annual written reports to the President, who may apprise the Congress and other interested organizations and individuals on its activities, progress, and problems relating to maximizing employment opportunities for people with disabilities.

(d) The Chairperson of the Board shall serve as a member and Vice Chair of the National Task Force on Employment of Adults with Disabilities established under Executive Order 13078 of March 13, 1998.

Sec. 3. Administration. (a) The Board shall meet when called by the Chairperson, at a time and place designated by the Chairperson. The Chairperson shall call at least two meetings per calendar year. The Chairperson may form subcommittees or working groups within the Board to address particular matters.

(b) The Chairperson may from time to time prescribe such rules, procedures, and policies relating to the activities of the Board as are not inconsistent with law or with the provisions of this order.

(c) Members of the Board shall serve without compensation but shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in Federal service (5 U.S.C. 5701–5707).

(d) The Department of Labor shall provide funding and appropriate support to assist the Board in carrying out the activities described in section 2 of this order, including necessary

office space, equipment, supplies, services, and staff. The functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended, except that of reporting to the Congress, that are applicable to the Commission, shall be performed by the Department of Labor in accordance with guidelines that have been issued by the Administrator of General Services.

(e) The heads of executive departments and agencies shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide the Board such information as it may need for purposes of carrying out the functions described in section 2 of this order.

Sec. 4. Prior Orders and Transition. (a) Executive Order 12640 of May 10, 1988, as amended, relating to the establishment of the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities, is hereby revoked. The employees, records, property, and funds of the Committee shall become the employees, records, property, and funds of the Department of Labor.

(b) Executive Order 13078 of March 13, 1998, is amended in sections 1(a) and (b) by striking "Chair of the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities" and inserting "Chairperson of the President's Disability Employment Partnership Board."

William J. Clinton

The White House,
January 10, 2001.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,
8:45 a.m., January 12, 2001]

NOTE: This Executive order will be published in the *Federal Register* on January 17.

Executive Order 13186— Responsibilities of Federal Agencies To Protect Migratory Birds

January 10, 2001

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in furtherance of the purposes of the migratory bird conventions, the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (16 U.S.C. 703–711), the Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Acts (16 U.S.C. 668–668d), the

Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act (16 U.S.C. 661–666c), the Endangered Species Act of 1973 (16 U.S.C. 1531–1544), the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321–4347), and other pertinent statutes, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy. Migratory birds are of great ecological and economic value to this country and to other countries. They contribute to biological diversity and bring tremendous enjoyment to millions of Americans who study, watch, feed, or hunt these birds throughout the United States and other countries. The United States has recognized the critical importance of this shared resource by ratifying international, bilateral conventions for the conservation of migratory birds. Such conventions include the Convention for the Protection of Migratory Birds with Great Britain on behalf of Canada 1916, the Convention for the Protection of Migratory Birds and Game Mammals-Mexico 1936, the Convention for the Protection of Birds and Their Environment-Japan 1972, and the Convention for the Conservation of Migratory Birds and Their Environment-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics 1978.

These migratory bird conventions impose substantive obligations on the United States for the conservation of migratory birds and their habitats, and through the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (Act), the United States has implemented these migratory bird conventions with respect to the United States. This Executive Order directs executive departments and agencies to take certain actions to further implement the Act.

Sec. 2. Definitions. For purposes of this order:

(a) “Take” means take as defined in 50 C.F.R. 10.12, and includes both “intentional” and “unintentional” take.

(b) “Intentional take” means take that is the purpose of the activity in question.

(c) “Unintentional take” means take that results from, but is not the purpose of, the activity in question.

(d) “Migratory bird” means any bird listed in 50 C.F.R. 10.13.

(e) “Migratory bird resources” means migratory birds and the habitats upon which they depend.

(f) “Migratory bird convention” means, collectively, the bilateral conventions (with Great Britain/Canada, Mexico, Japan, and Russia) for the conservation of migratory bird resources.

(g) “Federal agency” means an executive department or agency, but does not include independent establishments as defined by 5 U.S.C. 104.

(h) “Action” means a program, activity, project, official policy (such as a rule or regulation), or formal plan directly carried out by a Federal agency. Each Federal agency will further define what the term “action” means with respect to its own authorities and what programs should be included in the agency-specific Memoranda of Understanding required by this order. Actions delegated to or assumed by nonfederal entities, or carried out by nonfederal entities with Federal assistance, are not subject to this order. Such actions, however, continue to be subject to the Migratory Bird Treaty Act.

(i) “Species of concern” refers to those species listed in the periodic report “Migratory Nongame Birds of Management Concern in the United States,” priority migratory bird species as documented by established plans (such as Bird Conservation Regions in the North American Bird Conservation Initiative or Partners in Flight physiographic areas), and those species listed in 50 C.F.R. 17.11.

Sec. 3. Federal Agency Responsibilities.

(a) Each Federal agency taking actions that have, or are likely to have, a measurable negative effect on migratory bird populations is directed to develop and implement, within 2 years, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Fish and Wildlife Service (Service) that shall promote the conservation of migratory bird populations.

(b) In coordination with affected Federal agencies, the Service shall develop a schedule for completion of the MOUs within 180 days of the date of this order. The schedule shall give priority to completing the MOUs with agencies having the most substantive impacts on migratory birds.

(c) Each MOU shall establish protocols for implementation of the MOU and for reporting accomplishments. These protocols may

be incorporated into existing actions; however, the MOU shall recognize that the agency may not be able to implement some elements of the MOU until such time as the agency has successfully included them in each agency's formal planning processes (such as revision of agency land management plans, land use compatibility guidelines, integrated resource management plans, and fishery management plans), including public participation and NEPA analysis, as appropriate. This order and the MOUs to be developed by the agencies are intended to be implemented when new actions or renewal of contracts, permits, delegations, or other third party agreements are initiated as well as during the initiation of new, or revisions to, land management plans.

(d) Each MOU shall include an elevation process to resolve any dispute between the signatory agencies regarding a particular practice or activity.

(e) Pursuant to its MOU, each agency shall, to the extent permitted by law and subject to the availability of appropriations and within Administration budgetary limits, and in harmony with agency missions:

(1) support the conservation intent of the migratory bird conventions by integrating bird conservation principles, measures, and practices into agency activities and by avoiding or minimizing, to the extent practicable, adverse impacts on migratory bird resources when conducting agency actions;

(2) restore and enhance the habitat of migratory birds, as practicable;

(3) prevent or abate the pollution or detrimental alteration of the environment for the benefit of migratory birds, as practicable;

(4) design migratory bird habitat and population conservation principles, measures, and practices, into agency plans and planning processes (natural resource, land management, and environmental quality planning, including, but not limited to, forest and rangeland planning, coastal management planning, watershed planning, etc.) as practicable, and coordinate with other agencies and nonfederal partners in planning efforts;

(5) within established authorities and in conjunction with the adoption, amendment, or revision of agency management plans and guidance, ensure that agency plans and ac-

tions promote programs and recommendations of comprehensive migratory bird planning efforts such as Partners-in-Flight, U.S. National Shorebird Plan, North American Waterfowl Management Plan, North American Colonial Waterbird Plan, and other planning efforts, as well as guidance from other sources, including the Food and Agricultural Organization's International Plan of Action for Reducing Incidental Catch of Seabirds in Longline Fisheries;

(6) ensure that environmental analyses of Federal actions required by the NEPA or other established environmental review processes evaluate the effects of actions and agency plans on migratory birds, with emphasis on species of concern;

(7) provide notice to the Service in advance of conducting an action that is intended to take migratory birds, or annually report to the Service on the number of individuals of each species of migratory birds intentionally taken during the conduct of any agency action, including but not limited to banding or marking, scientific collecting, taxidermy, and depredation control;

(8) minimize the intentional take of species of concern by: (i) delineating standards and procedures for such take; and (ii) developing procedures for the review and evaluation of take actions. With respect to intentional take, the MOU shall be consistent with the appropriate sections of 50 C.F.R. parts 10, 21, and 22;

(9) identify where unintentional take reasonably attributable to agency actions is having, or is likely to have, a measurable negative effect on migratory bird populations, focusing first on species of concern, priority habitats, and key risk factors. With respect to those actions so identified, the agency shall develop and use principles, standards, and practices that will lessen the amount of unintentional take, developing any such conservation efforts in cooperation with the Service. These principles, standards, and practices shall be regularly evaluated and revised to ensure that they are effective in lessening the detrimental effect of agency actions on migratory bird populations. The agency also shall inventory and monitor bird habitat and populations within the agency's capabilities

and authorities to the extent feasible to facilitate decisions about the need for, and effectiveness of, conservation efforts;

(10) within the scope of its statutorily-designated authorities, control the import, export, and establishment in the wild of live exotic animals and plants that may be harmful to migratory bird resources;

(11) promote research and information exchange related to the conservation of migratory bird resources, including coordinated inventorying and monitoring and the collection and assessment of information on environmental contaminants and other physical or biological stressors having potential relevance to migratory bird conservation. Where such information is collected in the course of agency actions or supported through Federal financial assistance, reasonable efforts shall be made to share such information with the Service, the Biological Resources Division of the U.S. Geological Survey, and other appropriate repositories of such data (e.g., the Cornell Laboratory of Ornithology);

(12) provide training and information to appropriate employees on methods and means of avoiding or minimizing the take of migratory birds and conserving and restoring migratory bird habitat;

(13) promote migratory bird conservation in international activities and with other countries and international partners, in consultation with the Department of State, as appropriate or relevant to the agency's authorities;

(14) recognize and promote economic and recreational values of birds, as appropriate; and

(15) develop partnerships with non-Federal entities to further bird conservation.

(f) Notwithstanding the requirement to finalize an MOU within 2 years, each agency is encouraged to immediately begin implementing the conservation measures set forth above in subparagraphs (1) through (15) of this section, as appropriate and practicable.

(g) Each agency shall advise the public of the availability of its MOU through a notice published in the *Federal Register*.

Sec. 4. Council for the Conservation of Migratory Birds. (a) The Secretary of Interior shall establish an interagency Council for

the Conservation of Migratory Birds (Council) to oversee the implementation of this order. The Council's duties shall include the following: (1) sharing the latest resource information to assist in the conservation and management of migratory birds; (2) developing an annual report of accomplishments and recommendations related to this order; (3) fostering partnerships to further the goals of this order; and (4) selecting an annual recipient of a Presidential Migratory Bird Federal Stewardship Award for contributions to the protection of migratory birds.

(b) The Council shall include representation, at the bureau director/administrator level, from the Departments of the Interior, State, Commerce, Agriculture, Transportation, Energy, Defense, and the Environmental Protection Agency and from such other agencies as appropriate.

Sec. 5. Application and Judicial Review.

(a) This order and the MOU to be developed by the agencies do not require changes to current contracts, permits, or other third party agreements.

(b) This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch and does not create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, separately enforceable at law or equity by a party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
January 10, 2001.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., January 12, 2001]

NOTE: This Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 11, and it will be published in the *Federal Register* on January 17.

**Remarks to the Community
in Dover, New Hampshire**

January 11, 2001

Thank you all so much. Governor, thank you very much for being here and for your leadership and your friendship. And I agree,

that 4 more years sounded good to me, too—for you.

I want to thank my good friend Ron Machos and his wonderful wife, Rhonda, and my buddy Ronnie and his brothers for being here—don't cry, Ronnie; I'm just not going to be President; I'm still going to be around—[*laughter*—]for being to me the symbol of what my efforts in 1992 were all about.

I want to thank the mayor for welcoming me to Dover and giving me the key to the city. I told him—he said, “You don't have to carry this if it's too bulky.” He gave me a little ribbon. I said, “I might wear it around my neck.” [*Laughter*]

I want to thank the Green Wave Band. Weren't they great? [*Applause*] I thought they were terrific, and they did a great job.

On the way in, George Maglaras was reminding me of all the times I've been to Dover, and he said, “Now, when you get up here, you're going to have my mother and my first grade teacher.” I met her in the bingo center in Dover in 1992. [*Laughter*] And I would say, ma'am, I've aged a lot more than you have in the last 8 years. [*Laughter*]

I can't tell you what a great trip this is. Some of my friends in New Hampshire actually came up here from Washington with me, and a lot of the—all the people who worked in the campaign wanted to come. Nick Baldick is here. Of course, he's practically been here since I left. And David Neslin came with me, who worked in that campaign.

And every day for 8 years, by the way, every single day I have been reminded of New Hampshire because I had in my private office off the Oval Office a painting done by my friend Cindy Sexton Lewis—she and her husband, John, helped me so much—of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, right before the primary with David Neslin and me. We're walking across the street together. And Cindy gave me the painting, but right before I was inaugurated, because it was 10 days before the primary and everybody said I was dead as a doornail—[*laughter*—]and she said, “I looked at your expression in the paper, and you had your fist clenched and your jaw clenched, and I thought you would win anyway. So I painted this, and I decided I would wait, and if you won I would give

it to you.” [*Laughter*] So I thought that was a pretty good reminder. And all the tough days I'd go back and look at that picture, and I would remind myself of why I ran for President and what we were doing.

It was a tough time 8 years ago for our country when I came here. You've just heard a little bit about it. It was also a fairly tough time for me. I was taking a whipping in the press, and I was dropping in the polls. But I said then, and I would like to say again, that was nothing compared to the punishment that the people of this State and this Nation were enduring. As I said to—you heard Ron talking about it.

I remember walking down Elm Street in Manchester with now-Judge Broderick. I'm glad I'm not here on a political trip so you can come to my meetings for a change. It's nice to see you, John—Patty, thank you. Half the stores were vacant. Nobody could find a job. I remember a man in Merrimack who told me he had lost his job 30 days—30 days—before his pension vested. I remember a little girl telling me that she could hardly bear to go to dinner anymore, when I was in a high school in Manchester, because her father had lost his job, and he wept at the dinner table because he felt he had let his family down.

These and so many other New Hampshire stories became the lifeblood of my campaign. Across America, 10 million of our fellow citizens were out of work; most with jobs were working harder for less; interest rates were high. The Government deficit was \$290 billion a year and rising. Our debt had quadrupled in the previous 12 years. There was a crushing burden on our economy and on our kids.

We were also in trouble as a society. Welfare rolls, crime, drug abuse, teen pregnancy, income inequality—all of these things were rising. And some people said they didn't think we could do anything about it, but I didn't believe that for a minute, because as I traveled around this State, as I traveled around my own home State where I had been Governor for a dozen years, I went across this country, I saw a lot of determination and hope, good people with good ideas for solving problems. I knew the American people could turn the country around if we had some good

ideas and we acted on them. That means—to me, that meant that we had to have, first, a Government that was on the side of the people, that put the American people first, changed to meet the challenges of a new era.

And so I set out, as Governor Shaheen said, 9 years ago in New Hampshire with this simple conviction, that the American people were hungry for ideas and sick of the politics of personal destruction and paralysis.

I put out this little book, which I bet some of you still have copies of, called the “Plan for America’s Future.” And people made fun of me. They said, “What’s this guy doing running for President with all this—look at this single-spaced type. Who’s going to read that stuff?” And we went to Keene one night, early in the primary, and the people helping me up there said, “Now look, here’s the way New Hampshire works. If we get 50 people at this town meeting”—I was running fifth in the polls here, by the way, at the time—“if we get 50 people at this town meeting, you won’t be embarrassed. They won’t write in the newspaper that you’re an abject failure.” [*Laughter*] “If we get 150, it will be a triumph.” Four hundred people showed up, when I was running fifth in the polls, and they had—the fire marshal wouldn’t let them all in. And I said, “Holy Moses, something’s going on here. It turns out people really do care.”

And I remember talking to Hillary, and saying, “You know, we actually have a chance here.” When 400 people showed up in Keene, I knew we had a chance. [*Laughter*] And by the way, my wife said to tell you hello and thank you and when you really need it, you might have a third United States Senator now.

So, we were getting toward the end of the primary, and I came to Dover. And as I was reminded on the way in, we were at the Elks Club, I think. There were tons of people there; the place was packed. And I didn’t have any notes, and all the experts said I was dead. But I said what we really needed was to think about what we were going to do as a people, that we needed a new Government, less bureaucratic but more active, a new kind of politics that treated issues not as a way of dividing people but as a way of solving problems together; a new set of common-

sense ideas for the economy, for education, for crime, for welfare, for the environment, tied together by a simple philosophy: opportunity for every responsible American.

I said, “You know, if you elected me President, we might not solve all the problems, but at least you would know if you supported me, when you got up in the morning, you wouldn’t have to worry about whether your President cared if your business is failing, if you were losing your home, if you couldn’t get an education for your kids.” And I promised in that now-famous line that I would work my heart out for you until the last dog dies. After 8 years, and with almost exactly 9 days to go, the last dog is still barking.

I’ve worked hard for 8 years to make good on the commitments I made to you. Here in Dover, the unemployment rate then was nearly 8 percent; today, it is 1.7 percent. Across the Nation, the unemployment rate has dropped from 7½ percent to 4 percent, the lowest in 40 years. We have the longest economic expansion in history, the lowest female unemployment rate in 40 years, the lowest Hispanic- and African-American unemployment rate ever recorded, the highest homeownership in history.

We’ve gone from record deficits to record surpluses. At the end of this budget year, which is the last one for which I am responsible, we will have paid off over \$500 billion of the national debt. Since 1993, after inflation, the yearly income of the typical family is up \$6,300, hourly wages up by more than 9 percent. This economy has created—I’m proud to say—yes, more billionaires and more millionaires, but unlike some previous recoveries, this rising tide has lifted all boats. All income groups have had their income increase, and in the last 3 years the biggest percentage increase has come in the 20 percent of our workers that are earning the lowest wages. We are moving forward together.

But I want to talk today about some of the other issues, too, because one of the things that really touched me in New Hampshire was that people were not just interested in the economy, as miserable as it was. People cared about health care here. They cared about the environment. They cared about education. They cared about crime policy. They cared about welfare policy.

In the closing weeks of my administration, I've been trying to give a few speeches recapping where we were, how we've gotten where we are, and where I hope we will go. I went to the University of Nebraska at Kearney, the only State I had not visited as President. I told them, just because they never voted for me didn't mean they weren't better off, and I thought I ought to come and say I was glad. [Laughter] And I talked about the world challenges we faced, the foreign policy challenges.

I was in Chicago talking about the education record and where I hope we'll go there. And so I want to try to talk about these social issues today, where we're going as a people, because we're not just better off. We're a stronger, more united country: crime is down; welfare down nearly 60 percent; teen pregnancy is the lowest rate it's been in decades; we are growing more diverse, but we're also growing more united.

And so I came here one last time as President to New Hampshire to thank you for making me the Comeback Kid but more, and far more important, to thank you for making America the Comeback Country. Through all the ups and downs of the last 8 years, I never forgot the lesson I learned from you here in those amazing weeks in the winter of 1991 and 1992: What's important is not who is up or down in Washington; what's important is who is up or down in Dover.

So let's talk a little bit about that booklet I had and what it's meant. We abandoned a lot of the false choices that had paralyzed Washington: You had to be liberal or conservative; you had to be left or right; you had to be this or that. And we replaced them with a new set of ideas that have now come to be called the Third Way, because they've been embraced not just here in America but increasingly all across the world by people who were trying to break out of outmoded political and economic and social arrangements to deal with the real challenges of the 21st century.

Let's just go through a few of them. Number one, in the past, people believed you either had to cut the deficit or increase investment, but nobody thought you could do it at the same time. I thought that was a false choice. I thought we had to do both if we

were going to move forward as a nation, which meant we had to get rid of a lot of inessential spending, eliminate a lot of Government programs that weren't necessary anymore, get the deficit down. And we even asked the people who had been most fortunate in the 1980's to pay more taxes, but we promised to use it to get their interest rates down, and we said they'd be better off.

So we cut the deficit, and we got lower interest rates. That meant more business investment, lower home mortgage rates, lower car loans, lower college loans. It meant more jobs, higher incomes, and a rising stock market. At the same time, we doubled our investment—more than doubled our investment in education and increased our commitments in health care, the environment, research and technology, the things that are necessary to build the capacity of America for this new age and all these young people who are in this audience.

On welfare, in the past all, the debate was our compassionate obligation to help the poor, on the one hand, or other people saying, "No, everybody ought to just go to work." We thought that was a false choice. And we replaced yesterday's welfare system with one in which work is both required of those who can work but rewarded and one in which the children are not punished for the challenges facing the parents.

So we cut the welfare rolls by 60 percent nationwide. Millions of people have moved from welfare to work. We insisted, however, that if people are required to work, they should have job training and child care and transportation and that the parents should not lose their children's rights, if they're low income workers, to Medicaid and to food support, so that you can succeed at home and at work, even if you're a poor worker. I think that's very, very important.

And we raised the minimum wage, and we doubled the earned-income tax credit. That earned-income tax credit goes to the lowest earning workers in our society, especially those with children, because I don't believe anybody who works 40 hours a week ought to raise a kid in poverty. I don't think that's right. If somebody's out there doing what they're supposed to do, they ought to do that.

Now, what is the result? We have the lowest poverty rate we've had in 20 years, and last year we had the biggest drop in child poverty in 34 years. This is working. You can reward work.

We also tried to do some important things in health care. We made sure people with disabilities could go to work without losing their health care coverage. We provided coverage in Medicare for screenings for breast and prostate cancer. We provided health care coverage for women with breast cancer or cervical cancer. We did dramatic things in diabetes research and health care coverage and sped the delivery of drugs to people who needed it, with HIV and AIDS, which has changed the entire landscape from 1992 in the length and quality of life.

And we made sure that people who lose their jobs or who switch jobs can do so without losing their health insurance. And we limited the ability of people to be dropped for preexisting conditions. We created the Children's Health Insurance Program, which has enabled States to insure the children of lower income working families, so that now 3.3 million more kids have health insurance. And for the first time in a dozen years, the number of people without health insurance is going down in America.

Now, I remember at these town meetings we've talked a lot about crime. And I had been attorney general of my State and Governor, and I spent a lot of time on this. And one thing a politician knows, running for office, you will never get in trouble as long as you sound like you're the toughest person on the block about crime.

So nobody has to think. You just say, "Somebody commits a crime—put them in jail and throw the key away." But if you look at the facts where crime is going up and crime is going down, it is more complicated. Yes, serious offenders should be punished and punished severely. But it was clear that we had to do more to change the environment.

We had had a tripling of violent crime in America in the previous 30 years, the number of police on the beat had only gone up by 10 percent. And so, we said, "We need to do more to put more police on the beat. We need to do more to help keep kids off the

street and out of trouble. We need to do more with commonsense measures to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children. And we can do that without interfering with the legitimate rights of hunters and sportsmen." And that's exactly what we did.

We put 100,000-plus—we're now to about 130,000 police on the street. We passed a lot of measures to keep kids out of trouble and give them positive things to do. Six hundred thousand people who were felons, fugitives, or stalkers were not able to get handguns because of the Brady law. And notwithstanding all the recent election-season rhetoric, not a single hunter missed an hour in the deer woods, not a single sports person missed a sporting event, but we have the lowest crime rate in 25 years.

One of the things that really impressed me about being in New Hampshire in '92 and late '91 was, as terrible as the economy was, there were still people who cared passionately about the environment and who understood the beauty that you have been graced with in this gorgeous State and who did not believe that we had to sacrifice a clean environment for a strong economy. But that was the prevailing view, not only in America but in a lot of the world, that you couldn't have—if you wanted to continue to have economic growth, you just had to put up with a certain amount of environmental degradation. It just was inevitable.

But the truth is, in the new economy of the 21st century, which is based more on ideas and information and technology than on using more energy in ways that are destructive to the environment, that is not true anymore. So what do we do? We had new standards to clean the air, and the air is cleaner. The water is cleaner; the drinking water is safer. We've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps, twice as many in our 8 years as in the previous 12 years.

We've set aside more land than any administration since Theodore Roosevelt. It includes not only the big, famous places like protecting Yellowstone, the California redwoods, the Florida Everglades, the great roadless tracks of our national forests, but green spaces in communities all across America. And it turned out it worked. It hasn't

hurt the economy one bit, and we should do more of it, not less.

Now, in education, the debate in the past was, I thought, a horribly false choice: raise standards or spend money. The people that wanted to raise standards said, if you just throw more money into the education system, it won't improve the schools. People that wanted to spend more money said, if you raise standards without spending more money, you're just going to punish innocent children. I thought to myself, having spent enormous amounts of time in schools, that that was the nuttiest debate I ever heard. [Laughter]

So we said, look, here's a simple strategy based on what principals, teachers, and parents say; based on the fact that we had schools, even then, all across America, including in New Hampshire, that were succeeding against enormous odds; that we needed a strategy which said, higher standards, more accountability, more investment, and equal opportunity. And we set about doing that.

I asked Dick Riley, the Governor of South Carolina, who had a superb record in education, to be the Education Secretary. He is the longest serving and the finest one in our history, I believe. And here's what happened.

In 1992 there were only 14 States that had core academic standards for what all kids should learn. Today, there are 49. We more than doubled our investment in schools. We've expanded and improved Head Start. The last budget had the biggest Head Start increase in history. We're now providing Federal support for the very first time for summer school and after-school programs. This year, we'll cover 1.3 million children. We've helped schools across America to hire 37,000 new teachers to lower class size in the early grades, well on our way to meeting our goal of 100,000 new teachers, which will give us an average class size of 18 throughout America up to grade three.

This year, for the very first time, we got Federal support—since World War II, the very first time since right after World War II, when my generation was in school, the baby boomers—we got Federal support to help to repair the most severely distressed schools, over a billion dollars. It's a huge

problem. We've got schools that are so old and so overcrowded, they literally—I've been in school buildings where all the power went out when they tried to hook up to the Internet. They literally can't do it.

The Vice President supervised a program that—we did an event in a school here in New Hampshire to highlight this—to try to hook up all of our schools and classrooms to the Internet. In 1994, when we started, 3 percent of the classrooms and 35 percent of the schools had an Internet connection. Then we passed the Telecommunications Act of 1996 that had the E-rate, to make sure that even the poorest schools could afford to hook up. We got the private sector involved. Today, 2000, we've gone from 3 percent of the classrooms to 65 percent, from 35 percent of the schools to 95 percent of the schools connected to the Internet. And SAT scores are at a 30-year high, in no small measure because there's been a 50 percent increase in the number of kids taking advanced placement courses.

We've got more people than ever going on to college, thanks in large measure to the biggest increase in college aid since the GI bill passed 50 years ago. We passed the HOPE scholarship tax credit to make the first 2 years of college affordable to all Americans. We passed a lifetime tax credit for junior-senior years, for adults going back to school, for graduate schools—13 million American families are taking advantage of this. We raised the maximum Pell grant. It will be about \$3,700, a little more actually, this year. And with the Direct Student Loan Program, we cut the cost of college loans by \$9 billion over the last 7 years to our students. It's worth about a \$1,300 savings on every \$10,000 a student borrows to go to college. We've opened the doors of college to all Americans, and I'm very proud of that, and I think you should be.

In the past, there was this big debate about the cities. Some people thought if we just poured a lot more money into the cities, we could solve all those problems. Other people thought they were a lost cause, and more money wouldn't help. I thought both sides were wrong. So what we said is, we need to drive crime out, empower people to take responsibility for their own lives, and get

more private sector investment in, because we know that Government programs alone can't do the job.

So we brought in more money through the Vice President's empowerment zone program, through community development banks, through strengthening a law called the Community Reinvestment Act, which had been on the books for over 20 years but had never really been enforced. Over 95 percent of the investment by private banks in poor areas in America has occurred since we've been in office. And it's worked. It's paid off. Bank profits are up. There are jobs up. Businesses are up.

That street in Manchester I mentioned, where half the storefronts were vacant in 1993, is filled with businesses today, from banks to Internet cafes. And that kind of turnaround is going on all over the country. Poverty in the inner cities down 23 percent since 1993. And late last year our bipartisan new markets initiative passed, which will get even more money into the inner cities, into small rural communities, into Native American reservations across America that have been left out and left behind by this recovery.

Now, one other thing I would like to mention, because in some ways it's the most important of all to me in this whole litany of social issues, is embodied by Ron Machos up there talking about his family. In the past, every time there was an initiative to make a workplace more family-friendly, to do more child care, to pass family leave legislation and things like that, the other side said, "Well, we would like to do that. That seems like a very nice thing, but it would be too burdensome to the business economy, and so we can't." But one thing I learned, traveling here and then going across the country, is that I hardly met any people who were working and had children, even people with very good incomes, who hadn't had experiences in their work life where they felt they were letting their kids down. I hardly met anybody who hadn't had moments of tension where they were afraid that they couldn't do right by their kids or by their job; they were having to choose. And it seemed to me to be a terrible dilemma, not only for families but for the society, because the most important work of any society is raising children.

Anybody who has ever had kids can tell you that if things aren't going right for your kids, it doesn't matter what else is going right in your life. You know, it just doesn't. It doesn't matter how much money you've got. It doesn't matter—nothing else matters.

And so we set about trying to change that. I am very proud of the fact the first bill I signed as President was the family and medical leave law. It had previously been rejected. It had previously been rejected on the grounds that it was a perfectly nice idea, but if we gave some people time off from work when their kids were sick or their babies were born or the parents were sick, it would be so burdensome to the economy. Well, 22.5 million jobs later, 35 million people have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law. We have to be pro-work and pro-family.

The work we've done in child care, all this work has been good for America. The last point I want to make is this. When I spoke here in Dover back in '92, I said that throughout our country's history we've always gotten in trouble when we were divided, and when we were united, there was nothing we couldn't do; that we were becoming a much more diverse country—racially, religiously. I was in a school in Chicago a couple of days ago where half the—the grade school—half the student body was Asian, 18 percent African-American, 17½ percent Hispanic. The rest were white ethnics, almost all of them Croatian-Americans. And that's the future toward which we're moving.

And I said I would do what I could to build one America, to have us not tolerate each other but celebrate our differences. Life's more interesting when you can argue around a coffee table or in a school or at a civic club or something, about your differences, and celebrate them, but you know that you are bound together by shared values and common humanity and that those things are more fundamental.

One of the things I always tell people is that when it comes to anything that's social, whether it's your family, your school, your community, your business, or your country, winning is a team sport. It's like basketball. You can take—Michael Jordan may be the greatest basketball player that ever lived, but

if he'd gone out alone against five guys, he'd have lost every game.

And this is a team sport. And I'm so glad these young people from CityYear are back here, because the embodiment to me—I first visited CityYear in Boston in 1991, and it became the basis for my proposal for national service, for the creation of AmeriCorps, which is the embodiment of my idea of one America. AmeriCorps, since we established it in '93 and it came into effect in '94, has given 150,000 young people a chance to serve in communities all across this country and earn a little money for college. In 6 years more people have served in AmeriCorps than served in the Peace Corps in the first 30 years of its existence. We are building one America together.

That's my report to you. The stuff that was in this little book people made fun of me about is now real in the lives of the American people. The ideas have taken hold, and America is at the top of its game. And I just hope that we will continue the progress and prosperity of the last 8 years.

If we continue our policy of fiscal responsibility and investing in our people, we can keep the prosperity going and be debt-free for the first time since 1835, when Andrew Jackson was President. If we continue to put more police on the street, keep guns out of the hands of criminals, and give our kids something to say yes to as well as something to say no to, we can make this country the safest big nation on Earth.

If we continue to support important environmental initiatives and a strong economy, we can meet the challenge of climate change and any other thing that comes down the pike. If we continue to add people to the rolls of health insurance—and we ought to start by including the parents of all the kids we're insuring with the Children's Health Insurance Program, and the Federal Government has the money to help the States do that now—we can achieve that cherished goal that we talked so much about in New Hampshire in 1992 in providing health insurance to all American families.

If we keep investing more in our schools and demanding more from them, we can make sure every child gets a 21st century education. If we continue to require work,

reward work, and support working families, we can expand the circle of prosperity and still strengthen the fabric of our society. We've got 8 years of evidence to know that these ideas were good for America, and this direction is the right path.

The American people chose a vital, commonsense center 8 years ago. It seemed very foreign back then to Washington. I can remember political writers who spent the previous umpty-ump years in Washington saying, "I don't know what this guy believes. Does he believe anything? I mean, you've either got to be a conservative or a liberal. You can't be for—I mean you know, you've got to be in these little boxes we've been thinking in all these years in Washington." And they were so good for America, these little boxes, right? [*Laughter*]

Guess what. That's now the new consensus in Washington. People now believe that this is the right direction. It's even basically the landscape against whence the last election was fought in such a close fashion. There is a consensus that we have to find ways to continue to change consistent with our basic values and our common community and humanity.

Now, as you look ahead, let me just say, because conflict is always more interesting than consensus, I expect most of the press coverage will continue to be about the politics and the division. But let's just look at what happened last year in Congress, an election year for Congress and for the Presidency that was very closely fought in the Senate, the House, and for the White House.

Last year, while all this was going on—and you'd have thought nobody ever agreed on anything—here's what happened. We had the biggest and best education budget in history. We passed for the very first time in history a lands legacy initiative to give a stable source of funding to continue to set aside public lands, from big tracts to local green spaces—never happened before. We lifted the earnings limit on Social Security. We provided health care coverage for people suffering from breast and cervical cancer that couldn't get it elsewhere. We passed this new markets initiative, which is the biggest thing we've ever done, to try to get private investment into poor areas. We had truly historic

trade agreements with Africa, the Caribbean nations—our neighbors—with China, with Vietnam, and one with Jordan which has groundbreaking language that I've always wanted in all our trade agreement to include basic labor and environmental standards. And we passed something that I think is profoundly important, that everybody from the Pope to international entertainers have asked us to pass—a debt relief package for the poorest nations in the world that they can get but only if they invest 100 percent of the money in education, health care, and economic development for their people.

Now, that's what happened last year when everybody told you how divided we were. There is a new consensus here in this country for moving forward. And I just want to ask you—you're going to continue to be first in the Nation. You're going to continue to be, in some ways, the guardians of America's politics. Don't you ever forget that in the end, our future is tied to people, that it's more about ideas than a tax. The New Hampshire town meetings proved that in '92, and New Hampshire's success these last 8 years proved that.

Thank you for lifting me up in 1992. Thank you for voting for me and Al Gore in 1992 and in 1996. Thank you. And don't forget, even though I won't be President, I'll always be with until the last dog dies.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. in the gymnasium at Dover High School. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Jeanne Shaheen of New Hampshire; Ron Machos, Jr., married father of three who in 1991 was jobless and without health insurance for his family; Mr. Machos' wife, Rhonda, and son Ronnie; Mayor Wil Boc and former Mayor George Maglaras of Dover; Nick Baldick, head of Vice President Gore's New Hampshire campaign; and New Hampshire State Supreme Court Justice John Broderick, and his wife, Patty.

Statement on the Korean War No Gun Ri Incident

January 11, 2001

On behalf of the United States of America, I deeply regret that Korean civilians lost their lives at No Gun Ri in late July 1950. The

intensive, yearlong investigation into this incident has served as a painful reminder of the tragedies of war and the scars they leave behind on people and on nations.

Although we have been unable to determine precisely the events that occurred at No Gun Ri, the U.S. and South Korean Governments have concluded in the Statement of Mutual Understanding that an unconfirmed number of innocent Korean refugees were killed or injured there. To those Koreans who lost loved ones at No Gun Ri, I offer my condolences. Many Americans have experienced the anguish of innocent casualties of war. We understand and sympathize with the sense of loss and sorrow that remains even after a half a century has passed. I sincerely hope that the memorial the United States will construct to these and all other innocent Korean civilians killed during the war will bring a measure of solace and closure. The commemorative scholarship fund that we will launch will serve as a living tribute to their memory.

As we honor those civilians who fell victim to this conflict, let us not forget that pain is not the only legacy of the Korean war. American and Korean veterans fought shoulder to shoulder in the harshest of conditions for the cause of freedom, and they prevailed. The vibrancy of democracy in the Republic of Korea, the strong alliance between our two countries, and the closeness of our two peoples today is a testament to the sacrifices made by both of our nations 50 years ago.

Remarks at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts

January 11, 2001

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you. Those are the AmeriCorps rowdies over there. Thank you very much.

Well, President Freeland, let me begin by saying I'm delighted to be back at Northeastern. I remember so well when I spoke here to your commencement early in my term. I remember the honorary degree I got. Now that I have to make a living, maybe I can put it to some use. [*Laughter*] I remember the young man who spoke there, representing the students, all the students whose

hands I shook and whose stories I heard. This is a great American urban institution of opportunity, and I am honored to be back. I thank you for that.

Mayor Menino, Mr. Mayor, I thank you for being my friend and for proving that the ideas that Al Gore and I brought to the American people in 1992 and 1996 would work anywhere because you made them work in Boston. Whether it was the economy, crime, welfare, education, you did it.

You might be interested to know, Mr. Mayor, we're still borrowing from Boston. Just last week we announced that we're going to give Federal employees the same benefit you have given to Boston city workers, time off for medical screenings to catch cancer and other problems early on. Thank you again, Mr. Mayor.

And to your Representative, Mr. Capuano, I have never heard you give such a vigorous public speech in my life. *[Laughter]* And you even talked about things I'd forgotten I'd done. *[Laughter]* But your congressional district and this State have been wonderful to me. And you have been great, and I thank you. And I thank you for what you've done for them in Congress. And I want to thank Bill Delahunt, who has been so great on many issues but who's been particularly helpful in pushing our criminal justice agenda in the United States Congress, giving us the lowest crime rate in America in 25 years.

And I want to thank Jim McGovern for many things, but I think everyone in Massachusetts should know that Congressman McGovern was the number one advocate in Congress for one of the most recent initiatives we announced, which is that the United States of America is going to provide a free, hot, nutritious meal to 9 million children in poor countries throughout the world if they will come to school in their countries. Thank you, Jim McGovern.

Now finally, let me say, I don't know what to say about Senator Kennedy. I met—Ted Kennedy I met in 1978 in Memphis, Tennessee, at the midterm convention of the Democratic Party. I was the Governor-elect of my State, 32 years old, looked like I was about 20. *[Laughter]* You all, in the last 8 years, have taken care of that. *[Laughter]* And they said to me that President Carter's

administration called, and they said, "Governor, we want you to moderate this panel in Memphis on health care." And I had been a big supporter of President Carter, you know. They said, "We think that you can keep everything in a good humor. And on our side, we're going to have Joe Califano," who was the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. He was a very great fellow, by the way, and the number one advocate in America for doing something about the dangers of tobacco and a lot of other things. He had done a lot of great things. "And on the other side, we're going to have Senator Kennedy, who thinks that we're too weak on health care." I said, "You want me to bridle Ted Kennedy?" *[Laughter]* And I'm 32 years old, and I—so I said, "Okay, I'll do it." *[Laughter]* I just wanted to be on the program and see if I could keep up, you know?

So we had this incredible meeting on health care. And I don't even know if I've ever said this to him, but he got up and he talked about his beloved son and the health problems he had had, how he had managed to survive, and survives to this day, had a magnificent life, and how wrong it was that his son had done well because of the good fortunes of his family but that other families didn't.

And he made an impression on me that day that had lasted over these 22-plus years. And I promised myself that day that if I ever got a chance to give health care to more Americans and keep more young children like his son alive, I would do it. I owe him that, for 22 years.

And I have not had a better friend or stronger advocate in the United States Senate these last 8 years. And I can tell you that no Member of the Senate is more respected, even by the Republicans. They hate to admit it in public, but you get them in private, and they'll tell you the same thing. He is the best and most effective Member of the United States Senate.

Now, in these last 8 years, Ted and Vicki and our families have become—we've become much closer. And he's taken a lot of risks for his friendship with me. I know what you're thinking, but that's not the risk you took. *[Laughter]* He let me sail his boat into the Menemsha Harbor. *[Laughter]* I come

from a landlocked State, and he still let me sail his boat into Menemsha Harbor. I will never forget that. And all I could do in return was help send Hillary to the Senate to give him a little support, and I've done the best I could. *[Applause]* Thank you.

Three former Presidents have spoken in this hall, three Presidents in whose tradition and footsteps I have tried to follow: Theodore Roosevelt, the last great progressive Republican President; Franklin Roosevelt; and your John Kennedy. When Franklin Roosevelt spoke here in 1932 in the campaign, his first, he said, "We are through with delay. We are through with despair. We are ready for better things." That's exactly how I felt when I came here in 1992. And Massachusetts and the city of Boston, as you have heard, more than any other State in the Union, gave me a chance to work hard to bring better things to the United States. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you.

I am here, more than anything else, just to say thank you. There are a few places I felt I had to go in the closing days of my term just to thank people. A couple of days ago I went back to Chicago, which is my wife's hometown, and to East Lansing, Michigan, where they have a basketball team you may have noticed. They come over here sometimes. I went there because those two States voted for me on Saint Patrick's Day in 1992 and sealed my nomination.

I went back to New Hampshire today because—anybody here from New Hampshire?—because that's where it all started and because I was pronounced dead by all the pundits, and the people of New Hampshire decided they would lift me up. And since they raised me up, I wanted to go back and thank them.

But as you have heard repeatedly, in election after election and in good times and bad, the one place that I knew would always be there to stick with Bill Clinton, Al Gore, and the direction we were taking America, was Boston and the State of Massachusetts. And I could not leave office without coming here to say thank you. *[Applause]* Thank you.

Now, I mostly want you to think about the future, because most of the people in this audience are young and because America is

always about the future. But I want to take a minute to walk down memory lane.

Eight years ago, when I came here, 10 million Americans were out of work. The deficit was \$290 billion and rising. The debt of the country had quadrupled in the previous 12 years, imposing a crushing burden on our children. Welfare rolls, crime rates, drug abuse, teen pregnancy, income inequality all were going up. What a difference 8 years can make.

The one thing that hasn't been said tonight that I want to say again is, I believe politics should be about uniting people, not dividing them, should be about ideas, not insults. We had ideas in 1992 that we believed could put the American people first and build our bridge to a new century and a whole new aspect of human affairs.

All of you who are students here will live in a time where people look, work, live, and relate to one another in ways that are profoundly different than the America in which I grew up. And it is important that we hold fast to the basic values of this country: opportunity for every responsible citizen; a community of all Americans; and that we didn't have the courage to implement ideas that will meet the challenges of this era. That's what I tried to do. I tried to make politics in Washington about you, not about the politicians and the pundits in Washington; about ideas, not about insults; about how you were doing, not how we were doing.

In Boston, when I took the oath of office, unemployment was 6.9 percent. Today, it's 1.9 percent. Poverty is down. Average income is up nearly 20 percent. Crime has dropped, as the mayor said, by more than a third, and we've been there to help.

The same thing has happened in the Nation. Unemployment is at a 30-year low. We have 22½ million new jobs, the longest economic expansion in history, the lowest minority unemployment ever recorded, the lowest female unemployment in 40 years.

Now, because we turned those record deficits into record surpluses in this last budget year—it's the last one for which I am responsible—when it's over, we will have paid down \$500 billion on the national debt, meaning lower interest rates for college loans, home mortgages, car payments, business loans,

more jobs, higher incomes, a brighter future for all Americans.

But there were ideas behind this. There were ideas behind getting the crime rate down, ideas practiced in Boston. You know, before I became President, I noticed out there in the country, looking at Washington, that most politicians thought the only way to be safe on crime was just to talk tough. And if you were just for catching whoever you could catch and putting them in jail and throwing the key away, you would never get in trouble on crime. On the other hand, you'd never lower the crime rate either.

So we said, "No, let's put 100,000 police on the street. Let's do more to keep guns out of the hands of children and criminals." The Brady bill kept 600,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting hand guns. We put 130,000 police on the street.

On welfare, the Democrats defended the programs that supported the poor, as we should. Many in the other party said, "Oh, they don't want to work. We ought to cut them off." I thought that was nuts. I had spent enough time in welfare offices to know that people did want to work, but you couldn't expect people to go to work if they were going to have to hurt their kids. So we said, "Okay, require able-bodied people to work but train them. Give them child care, give them transportation, and don't take the food and the medicine away from the kids and the parents if they go to work." And it worked.

There were people who said, "Well, the cities are economic basket cases, and nobody wants to put their money there." I thought that was not true. And we revitalized the Community Reinvestment Act, a law that basically says banks have to put money back into their communities. It seems reasonable, but it had been on the books since the 1970's, and hardly any money had been put back into poor communities. In the 8 years we've been in—now, this law's been on the books for over 22 years—95 percent of all the money, \$15 billion or more have been put back into communities under the Community Reinvestment Act.

We created this empowerment zone program that the Vice President ran. We created community development banks solely to loan

money to people who couldn't get money otherwise. We did a lot of other things to put more housing in, to let poor people who were working have houses in different kinds of neighborhoods. The economic justice issue that your Congressman mentioned was very important, the environmental justice, because we found that we couldn't get people to invest unless we cleaned up urban brownfields, for example, and we stopped people from being exposed to various kinds of pollution just because they happened to be poor. All over the country, poverty in the inner cities has fallen by 23 percent, and wages have grown even faster than in the country as a whole.

In education, with the leadership of Senator Kennedy, we have reduced the size of the Federal Government to its smallest size since his brother was President. We got rid of the deficit and turned surpluses, but we more than doubled our investment in education in these last 8 years. Thank you, Ted Kennedy, for that.

Just this year—when we took office, only 3 percent of the classrooms and 35 percent of the schools in this country had an Internet connection. Today, 65 percent of the classrooms and 95 percent of the schools are connected to the Internet, and thanks to the Vice President's E-rate program, they can afford to log on and to use it for their students.

We never gave any money to cities for after-school and summer school programs. Thanks to the leadership of Senator Kennedy, this year in the budget we just signed, there's money to keep 1.3 million kids in the United States of America in after-school programs so they don't get in trouble, and they do learn their lessons.

President Freeland talked about the college aid program. The Pell grant this year will be \$3,750, a huge increase. Thirteen million families are taking advantage of the HOPE scholarship tax credit and the lifetime learning tax credit. The direct loan program has saved students \$9 billion in college loan costs. If your school is in it anywhere in America, the average \$10,000 loan is \$1,300 cheaper for an American student to pay off than it was when we took office. We are moving this country toward a more educated society and a more united one.

The air is cleaner. The water is cleaner. The drinking water is safer. The food is safer. We've cleaned up twice as many toxic waste dumps in 8 years as the previous two administrations did in 12. And we've set aside more land in perpetuity than any administration since Theodore Roosevelt 100 years ago. And all the way, people said, "This is bad for the economy." It turned out not to be so.

We also have tried to help people balance work and family, raising the minimum wage, raising the earned-income tax credit for lower wage workers. One of the things I'm proudest of about this economic recovery is that, yes, we made more billionaires and millionaires, and that's good, but we also had everybody doing better. And in the last 3 years, working families in the lowest 20 percent of the income group had the highest percentage increase in income. This program is raising all of them.

I remember when Senator Kennedy and Senator Dodd and some others were pushing the family medical leave law. It had already been vetoed once before I became President because everybody said, "This is bad for business. You know, it's a nice idea, letting somebody off for work when a baby's born or a baby's sick or the parent's sick or the wheels have totally run off in the family, but it just is something we can't possibly afford." I thought that was crazy, because I can tell you, once you become a parent—everything else in life can be going right for you, and if your kid's having trouble, nothing works. Nothing else matters. Nothing in the world matters if something's wrong with your family, all the success in the world, all the wealth in the world—nothing matters.

And I don't know anybody my age or younger that hasn't had some conflict between work and parenting, even upper income people. This is a big challenge for all of you, by the way, in the future. So the first law I signed was the family and medical leave law. And I heard all that going on about how terrible it was going to be. Well, let me tell you something. We've had the law on the books now for 7½ years. You know what's happened? Thirty-five million people have taken advantage of it, and 22½ million new jobs have been created. We were right, and

they were wrong about that. You have to balance work and family.

The most important thing I worked on is embodied by the kids in AmeriCorps, our national service program. Senator Kennedy and I were together when we signed the bill on the South Lawn, and I signed it with the same pen John Kennedy used to sign the bill creating the Peace Corps. In the last 6½ years we've had over 150,000 young people working in community service and earning some money to go to college.

It's not all we did. We also fought for stronger civil rights enforcement. We sought to reduce discrimination against gays in the Federal workplace and throughout the country. And I hope, by the way, Senator, now that we've got a little bit better Congress, I hope we will pass the hate crimes bill and the employment nondiscrimination bill and the equal pay laws in this session of Congress.

But in just the last year of my service, at a time when most people say we couldn't get anything done because it was my last year, and besides, they were having a Presidential race and the congressional races, and everything seemed so divided in Congress, thanks to the support of the people on this platform and people like them throughout the country, we've passed the biggest and best education budget ever, the biggest increase in head start ever.

We set aside for the first time, in the lands legacy program, a permanent fund to buy precious lands and green spaces in cities from now on, all over America, to protect land—never happened before. We got the first money ever from the Federal Government since World War II to help repair schools that are in trouble, because we've got so many kids in schools that are so old, they're falling down or so overcrowded, half the kids are in trailers. We passed legislation designed to get new investment in the cities, the new markets initiative, a completely bipartisan initiative.

We did what I said. With Congressman McGovern's plan, we're going to provide over the next several years—if we keep working at it, we'll be able to offer every poor child in every poor country in the world a good, nutritious meal if they come to school. Sixty percent of the kids in this world who

are not in school are girls. This is a huge problem all over the world, and just by feeding them we'll be able to get them to school. That will change the whole future of the world the young people will be able to live in.

And that's just part of what we did. What's the point of all this? Here's the point I want to make for you, for you young people here. Eight and a half days from now, when I walk out of the White House at high noon on January 20th, I want you to know something: I will leave more optimistic than I entered. I will be more idealistic than I was the day I first took the oath of office as President.

This country can do whatever we have to do. We can meet any challenge. We can seize any opportunity. But we have to remember basic things. We really do have to put people first, and you really do have to believe that we all are part of one community. Politics is about addition and multiplication, not subtraction and division. It's about teamwork. It's about working together. And there are so many things out there for you. The best days in this country are still out there, but there are some big challenges out there. And I hope you will never forget these 8 years. I hope you will always be proud of the support you gave to me and to Al Gore and what we did.

But believe me, the greatest gift you could ever give me is to never lose the fervor I sense in this room tonight. Never lose your belief in your country. Never lose your belief in your capacity to change it for the better. And never get tired when you don't win every election. Bear down. Look forward. The best is still out there. I will always love Massachusetts.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:10 p.m. in Matthews Arena. In his remarks, he referred to Richard M. Freeland, president, Northeastern University; Mayor Thomas M. Menino of Boston; and Vicki Kennedy, wife of Senator Edward M. Kennedy. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Interview With Steve Holland and Debbie Charles of Reuters

January 11, 2001

No Gun Ri

Q. We understand you made a foreign policy-related call shortly—

The President. Yes, I just talked to President Kim about the No Gun Ri incident and personally expressed my regret to him. And I thanked him for the work that we had done together in developing our mutual statement. We also set up this scholarship fund and did some other things that we hope will be a genuine gesture of our regret. It was a very—you know, I had a good talk with him.

Q. Any particular reason why you used the word “regret” instead of “apology” in your statement?

The President. I think the findings were—I think he knows that “regret” and “apology” both mean the same thing, in terms of being profoundly sorry for what happened. But I believe that the people who looked into it could not conclude that there was a deliberate act, decided at a high enough level in the military hierarchy, to acknowledge that, in effect, the Government had participated in something that was terrible.

So I don't think there's any difference in the two words, on a human level, because we are profoundly sorry that it happened and sorry that any Americans were involved in it. But I think that in terms of the kind of responsibility the institution of the military that the facts were sufficiently unclear after all this time that the people who were reviewing it thought it was the appropriate language. And we worked it out with the Koreans and obviously shared whatever we could find with them.

These people have been our friends for 50 years. We didn't have—I told our guys to play it straight, that we didn't have an interest in trying to cover anything up or sugarcoat anything; we needed to try to get to the bottom of this. I think that we've done about

the best we can do. And I hope that the people of Korea will accept our statement as genuine, and I hope it will bring some solace to the family members and the few people that still survived who were involved in it, who will never get over it.

California Electricity Shortages

Q. Let me ask you another topical question. California is on the verge of blackouts. Is there anything you can do in your remaining time in office?

The President. Well, I'm working at it. We have done some things. Secretary Richardson has worked very hard to make sure that the wholesalers kept selling the power to the utilities. But essentially, what happened was before—without any involvement from the Federal Government and before the previous administration in California, the deregulation was done in a way that made them vulnerable not to—in essence, to very high prices, maybe prices that aren't justified by market conditions on occasion.

They need to get all they can get from out-of-State generators and in-State generators, because they've grown so much. And they still have a regulation of prices to the ultimate consumer. So we've got a situation here which it seems to me might have been predictable at the time the deregulation legislation was done. But I, frankly, until this happened, I didn't know what the nature of the California deregulation law was. I didn't even know when it had been done, until this whole thing arose.

So we're dealing with the situation the best we can. But I also think we need to talk to some of the producers, see whether more power can be brought on line at economical rates more quickly. I actually talked to one of them myself just in the last 2 or 3 days. So I'm trying to get all of our options out there, and if there's anything else I can do, I will. I saw Governor Davis about a week ago, and I told him that.

But I do believe that the Governor and the people of California know that, through the Energy Department, we've done everything we can so far.

2000 Presidential Election

Q. Let me turn you to the election very quickly. You seemed to surprise everybody when you said that the Republicans only—that when they stopped the counting, that's the only way that George W. won. What point were you trying to make there?

The President. I was actually just having fun with Bill Daley in Chicago. We were home and his brother—he had introduced his brother. I think Bill did a very fine job running the Vice President's campaign. I was just having a good time, trying to put them all in a good humor. I wasn't trying to be sarcastic or hateful or even make any kind of deliberate point. I was basically having fun with what I think are the undisputed facts. I don't think there's much dispute about the facts. They didn't finish the vote count. There's really no—everybody knows that.

Q. Do you have any hard feelings about the election outcome and the way the Court, the conservative majority stepped in to stop the counting?

The President. Well, I don't have much to add to what I said. I think the Vice President said it all for us. We accept the principle of judicial review. It's a very important one. It has been since John Marshall wrote the opinion in *Marbury v. Madison* in the early 19th century. And it has helped us to have some finality in our law.

But yes, I disagree with the decision, and I think most constitutional scholars do. I saw a quote in the paper the other from a man who was a law professor in the Middle West—I'm sorry, I don't remember his name—but he identified himself as a conservative, pro-life Republican. But he said, "I am a constitutional law professor, and I disagree with this decision."

But the country has had, periodically—thankfully, not often, but periodically—there's a handful of Supreme Court decisions that I think were unfortunate. But we nearly always straighten it out with time. And in the meanwhile, the election was very close. It was fought nearly to a draw, and the political forces in Florida, the legislature might have done the same thing, and it might have been upheld. I just hated to see the Court involved in this way when there was, you know, 6 days less to count the votes.

But I didn't mean to make any big point. I didn't say anything that I and the Vice President and other Democrats had said tons of times. I was just having fun, trying to say something nice, to make people laugh about Bill Daley. It's pretty tough on him, you know, because he really did do a good job. I think they were about 10 points behind or something, and Bill took over, and he really did, I think, a very good job.

Q. Can I switch to the Middle East? Everything that's going on right now. Today they had some talks—

The President. Let me just say one other—you shouldn't read anything about—that has nothing to do with—we have tried to be very supportive of the President-elect and his team and the transition. I haven't tried to politicize this. I was strictly having fun with my friends in Chicago and bucking up Bill Daley. That's all.

Anyway, go ahead.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. The Middle East, there were some talks in the Gaza today between Israelis and Palestinians. But Sharon has already said the Oslo deal is dead, basically. What are your thoughts about the next 8 days? Is there any hope for anything to happen or will you—

The President. I think there is. It depends on what the agreement is and then how the Israeli electorate responds to it. General Sharon has, I think, never liked the Oslo agreement and has been very honest about it. But he did come to Wye River; he participated fully. Then Prime Minister Netanyahu had been very critical of Oslo. But they negotiated that agreement at Wye River, and previously to that, I think he was in when they finalized the Hebron agreement.

So you have to hope that this process keeps going. The reason we went—let me just back up and say, the reason we went to Camp David in the first place is that it was obvious to everybody that just as the Hebron and then especially the Wye River agreement was absolutely essential to keep the peace process alive, because the previous understandings had come to the end of their rope and they had to stay on the process, it was obvious to me that we had come to the end of our capacity to stay in the peace process with just

the Wye River agreement. It worked very well for a couple of years, but there had to be some continued movement.

Because what happens is, when you reach a stall, then the people that really don't want this to happen, particularly rejectionist elements within the Palestinian community, they can have incidents; then they provoke reactions; then the borders get closed; then the incomes of the Palestinians drop again, and you get in a downward spiral. So I was trying to head off just what we've been through these last 3 months.

So I think that they will have to reach some sort of accommodation, unless they really want the thing to spin out of control. And I really don't believe either side wants that, so we'll just have to see. But you know, whatever happens will be the responsibility of the next administration and the winner of the Israeli election, whoever that may be.

Q. Do you think it's important for you to set out a list of, maybe, points that have been agreed to so far, so that they don't start from scratch again, that you don't lose what you've already gotten?

The President. Well, I think it was quite significant, actually, even though it came 6 days later than I wanted it to, that the Palestinians have now agreed in principle with the parameters. So at least that Israeli Government and the Palestinian Authority have agreed—this Israeli government, excuse me—and the Palestinian Authority have agreed to the parameters. Both sides have some concerns and some questions which are, frankly, quite well known to either side. So I think we have narrowed the debate and moved it forward.

Now obviously, unless there is an agreement, the United States Government is not bound by the position I took. Any incoming Israeli government would not be bound. For example, when I felt that I had to continue a number of President Bush's policies—I didn't particularly disagree with them, either, by the way, in Somalia and one or two other places—but I didn't really believe it was an option to reverse them, because our Government was committed. And I think it's very

important that we—except in the most extreme circumstances—maintain some continuity in foreign policy and in our commitments to other countries.

But President-elect Bush is in no way, shape, or form bound by the positions I've taken on this Middle East agreement, unless there is some agreement.

Q. Do you think that'll happen?

The President. I just don't know. You know, it's a very difficult-to-predict situation. All the odds say no, but there are reasons why they are both working to get this done. In all my 8 years of service as President, I've never seen a situation quite like this, where the circumstances, including my short time in office, seemed unfavorable, but the determination of the main players seems strong, in fact, maybe even intensified. So we'll just have to see what happens.

I'm trying to keep myself free of expectation one way or the other, and to do whatever I can to try to help end the violence—and we had a good day today—and just create the conditions in which, if they're willing, they can do as much as they can do. And we'll just have to see what happens. I don't think we can predict it.

Q. Do you think the incoming Bush people will be as interested in pursuing this as you have been?

The President. Well, I think they will be very interested in stability and peace in the Middle East. Their orientation has been a little more toward, you know, the Gulf, the oil-producing states, honoring our historic commitments to Israel to maintain their qualitative military capacity.

But to be fair, the previous Bush administration took a pretty strong line on expanded settlements after the Madrid talks started in the hope that they could help to create the conditions in which the Palestinians and the Israelis could move toward peace.

So I think that there may be differences in approach and priorities that the President and the Vice President and Secretary Powell will have to work through. But my guess is that their general direction will be the same, because in the end, what happens is—let's assume—and I'm not saying this, because I don't believe this—but listen, even if you had an administration that didn't really care

about the Palestinian problem on its own merits, and said, "Well, our real interests are in the geopolitics of the oil-producing states and the problems created by the lack of an agreement with Syria."

And by the way, I'm fairly optimistic that there will be an agreement between Israel and Syria sometime in the not-too-distant future, and I don't think there would be much difference in the policy positions taken by Likud or a Labor government on Syria, or by my administration or the incoming administration. We worked this hard, I mean, for years. And I think if the late President Asad hadn't kind of felt he was not in the best of health and was not—that they wanted to freeze things in place, and if he can secure his son's accession, we might well have been able to do a peace agreement when I met with him in Switzerland shortly before his death. So I expect that I don't think there will be much difference there.

So even if it's not a priority for you because it looks like a morass that can't be solved in a small place with people that don't have a state, don't have nuclear arms, don't have an air force, don't have an army, inevitably what we always get back to is that the absence of an agreement with the Palestinians and the absence of a stable situation between Israel and the Palestinians infects the other countries and their capacity to relate to us over the long run.

And particularly as these other countries have more and more young people who are more and more drawn to the sympathetic—drawn with a sympathetic ear to the claims of the Palestinians, and they have more demonstrations in these other countries and more unrest in these other countries, I think that our concern for stability in our relations with the Saudis, with the Kuwaitis, with not letting Saddam Hussein develop weapons of mass destruction again, the whole range of concerns that any American administration would have to have leads you back down to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and trying to get to the end of the road there. I mean, I just think you do.

I think that that's why I made the speech I did to the Israeli Policy Forum the other night. I waited until the very end, and until, essentially, I had put these parameters out

before saying that, because I don't believe an American President should try to impose or create a peace between these two parties. The questions go too much to the heart of their respective sense of national identities, their cultural identity, their whole set of religious convictions.

So all I said in these parameters and all I meant to say in the Israel Policy Forum speech is, "Look, I've been listening to these people for 8 years, and I've studied these issues as closely, I believe, as any American President ever has, down to the maps, the settlement locations, the maps of the city of Jerusalem, the whole thing. My best judgment is if there ever is going to be a comprehensive agreement, it will have to look something like this." And you know, that's not the only option. In other words, they could do what they did at Wye River. They could say, "Okay, here's the next chapter, and this is what we're going to do."

But the real problem with the sort of sequencing of interim steps is that, at least so far, because of all the other very complex forces going on there, these steps have not brought sufficient stability to the relationship and to the climate within the Palestinian areas or within Israel that there can be a long-term sort of set of nonpolitical measures that lead to progress—which is exactly the reverse of the Irish situation.

And you may have heard me say this before, but the difference is, in Ireland—I may have said this in the Israel Policy Forum speech, I can't remember—but my physical analogy is, some unsolved problems are like scabs on a wound. If you leave them alone, they'll heal. Some are like an abscessed tooth. If you leave it alone, it will get lots worse.

In Ireland, because the underlying economic circumstances are dramatically improved and because there has been a dramatic increase in interpersonal contact which is positive, and because while there is a small terrorist group that is still trying to upset the Irish thing, it's much more contained, the absence of final resolution of the thorny political issues is unlikely to crater the situation.

In the Middle East, the per capita income of most Palestinians is the same or lower than it was when we signed the agreement on the White House Lawn, because there are so

many different groups that can paralyze the process with acts of terror or violence that close the borders, that stop everything, that wreck the economy, and that kind of burn the bridges of trust that get built up when things are going okay for a year or so. I think it's more like an abscessed tooth. So that's why I decided to make the speech I gave at the Israel Policy Forum.

But they don't have to do that. They could reach another accommodation. They could say, "Okay, we can't do this whole thing, but we can't just rest on Oslo plus Wye River, so we have to do this," whatever this is. And they could do that.

But I think any Israeli leader would have to see that, and I think in the end, any American Government will come back to a concern for it, if for no other reason than a desire to have stability in the region.

Tax Cut/National Economy

Q. Let me turn you quickly to the economy. The Republicans are talking about a retroactive tax cut. You've got an economic statement tomorrow. Are the factors there, is the evidence there strong enough that there's a downturn going on and we need this retroactive tax cut?

The President. Well, first of all, the blue chip forecast, I think, is for 2.6 percent growth, which is enough growth to keep the unemployment rate at about 4 percent. And that really doesn't surprise me. When I saw the initial estimates, which were about 3.4 percent, I thought they were a tad high because we've been growing for a couple of years at nearly 5 percent, which is, for an advanced economy of our size, it's just virtually unprecedented. You simply couldn't sustain it at that rate. So I think that the expansion can be continued.

On the other hand, there's been a fairly sharp drop in stock values, and that takes a lot of wealth out of the economy, and eventually, that backs down into lower consumption and orders and things like that. So you see, for example, real problems in the steel industry today at a time when steel imports are also dropping. So it's not like the '97 crisis where—the crisis in Asia and Russia led people to try to flood the market in America with

bargain basement prices. Here, you've got an overall problem.

So I think I've always believed that a tax cut should be part of the next budget. I thought it should have been part of the last budget. It can be a little bigger than the one that I proposed, because the surplus has been written up some—the estimated surplus. Although I think it's very important that they go back and subtract from the estimated surplus the 10-year costs of the budget we just adopted, because it's the best education budget, for example, that we've had in my 8 years. There's about a 15 percent increase in education. But you have to prorate that out, and President-elect Bush has said he's very interested in continuing to support education, even though he wants to kind of rearrange the deck chairs on how we allocated it—which is, you know, that's up to him and the Congress. They'll have to work that out.

So I think the question is not so much whether one is warranted but what kind of tax cut should it be, and how big should it be? My concern—what I have believed in—I said this back during the campaign period so I can reiterate it—my view is that it should not be so large as to preclude our continued ability to pay down the debt and to stay more or less on the track we're on to get the debt down over the next 10 years, because if the markets perceive that we're going back into deficits, that would lead to an increase in interest rates, which would wipe out the impact of a tax cut for most Americans—even wealthy Americans, because it could have a depressing impact on the market, and it certainly would increase the cost of business borrowing and tend to slow down the growth of the economy.

So the trick is—that also, by the way, would foreclose—this is what happened to me when I got in. I didn't have the option to do what Americans would normally—the Government would normally do in a recession, which is to have a substantial tax cut and pump the thing back up, because the deficit was so big, it would just have caused interest rates to skyrocket.

So the trick for the incoming administration—they have lots of options here. They can spend money; they can cut taxes; they can do more of one or less of the other—

and less of the other. But the real—what I would be thinking about if I were in that position is, what is the aggregate amount we're going to commit here, particularly on the tax cut side, because it's not like—you don't have to repeat spending in years 2, 3, and 4. You can cut spending if times are tough. We've proved that. But once the tax money—once you cut the taxes, that's normally gone. It's hard to raise taxes when times are tough.

So what I hope is, I think they ought to have a tax cut of some magnitude, but I think they ought to save back enough to keep on the track of paying down the debt, which also gives you the protection down the road. Someday, surely, the expansion will come to an end, but I don't think it has to come any time soon. And when it does, the more we pay the debt down, the more free we will be then to have a substantial tax cut to help the country in a recession—when that happens sometime in the future—without having an adverse impact on interest rates.

So I don't think there's any question that they can have a tax cut. It could be fairly sizable. I think it's appropriate. But I just think you don't want it so big that it takes you off the path of getting us out of debt, because the mental knowledge that that's the path we're on keeps interest rates low.

The average American family now is saving \$2,000 a year on a home mortgage, as compared to where we were back in '93. Long-term interest rates are 2 percent lower than when I took office, even though we've had an 8-year expansion, which is unheard of. You normally wouldn't have that. And paying down the debt has a huge impact on that, because it frees up more and more money every year to borrow in the private sector, and interest rates are lower than they would be if the Government were competing.

And let me also say there's something else that we should keep in mind. The more you pay down the debt, the lower your interest bill is. I think this year we've got interest payments on the debt down under 12 cents on the dollar. But they were at 13 or something, headed north, when I took office.

Let's say we went—I'm making this up, of course—let's say we went 4 or 5 more years on the same tack, and we got interest

on the debt down to 6 cents on the dollar. That's a huge amount of money that is freed up every year for either investment in our future or for tax cuts. And you have more and more and more flexibility.

Anyway, that's kind of a long-winded answer, but it's a very, very important subject, and I've thought about it a lot.

Q. Can I just—another foreign policy question—one more question.

The President. Go ahead.

National Missile Defense

Q. On NMD, which has become topical now with the Bush administration and Rumsfeld's hearings today, do you regret at all making it a commitment of the United States, since some diplomacy efforts, like with Korea, are working out? And is it just going to create more problems with China, Russia in the future?

The President. Well, I think I made the right decision not to deploy. And I think that I made the right decision to continue the research program. And I hope that's what they will do.

It's not clear to me exactly how they're going to operationalize their commitment. That is, because in the campaign, the President-elect said that he would do this if it could be developed, whether anybody else liked it or not, which bothered some people. But he also—the "it" that he was trying to develop was a system that was, in effect, more comprehensive than the more limited one that could have been deployed in the timeframes we were talking about during my tenure. So it may be that what he will decide to do is to intensify research.

Look, if we actually knew we had the technology to take missiles out of the sky, even assuming that we get this agreement with North Korea—which I think we will get, on freezing the missile production, not selling missiles. I think that will come. That's teed up, and I believe the Bush administration will see it as a great opportunity. And I think it will be one seized within the first few months of the incoming administration. I think it will be one of their first achievements, because it's set, and I think it will happen.

But even if that happens, with the proliferation of technology around the world, we

can't possibly know who might have missiles in the future. So I think we're almost morally obligated to continue to try to develop this kind of system. However, if we deploy the system in a way that leads to more proliferation and more insecurity, that's very problematic. And it's one of the things that I had to consider, that if we just set it up, even if we were worried about North Korea and the Middle East, if the Chinese interpreted it as a move to try to contain them, even though there's no way we could—even if they have just 50 missiles, that's more than—or two dozen, whatever they've got—two dozen I guess, more or less—they might decide that now they need 300.

If they did that, the Indians would decide that they needed more, under the present state of play between the two countries. If they did that, the Pakistanis would certainly build more. And circumstances that exist on the Indian Subcontinent are not as stable as those which existed between the United States and the Soviet Union during the cold war, or that exists today between the United States and Russia. And by the way, I expect that there will be a further reduction in nuclear warheads by both countries. That's one thing I think the Bush administration will be in a position to do, because of the development of our relationships, I'll be—I expect that President Putin and then-President Bush will be successful in continuing to reduce the nuclear arsenals. But you don't want to have all this sort of uncontrolled instability in some other part of the world.

But there's a way to continue to work the missile defense issue, and then there would be a way to put it at the service of all countries, the technology, which is what President Reagan used to talk about when he was talking about the Star Wars in the sky and all of that. Philosophically, he had an idea of making it available to all countries so that no one would be any more at risk, including from us.

But that technology is not out there now. We're talking about technology to stop the accidental launch or a terrorist or a country with two or three missiles that could lob them at you. Two or three missiles could do a world of damage on the United States or someone else.

So I just think—I think that I left it with a maximum number of options for the next administration. I've tried to leave the economy with maximum number of options in good shape, and I think this program gives them the maximum number of options.

And I think—again, you know, we all say things in campaigns, and then you get to be President and it looks a little different. Presidents pretty much do what they promise to do in campaigns, but sometimes when you turn an idea into an operation, when you operationalize your views, the world looks different when you're sitting behind the desk in the Oval Office than it did when you were running for the job. It just does. And that's no criticism of him. They're the same things that looked different to me when I got there.

And so I just—it's a big issue, but it will be closely covered and widely debated, and I hope it will be resolved in an appropriate way. But I do think that the research should continue.

President's Future Plans

Q. How are you going to feel on January 21st? You wake up Sunday morning, you won't be President.

Q. In Chappaqua.

The President. I'm not sure. But I'll say this, right now, I just feel very at peace and very grateful. And I'm going to start thinking about the rest of my life. Every stage of my life has been rewarding and good. And I've been so fortunate, and it's a real challenge. I'm just going to try to imagine how I can make the most of it. I'm kind of looking forward to it. I don't expect that I'll have sort of prolonged periods of semi-depression because I'm not President anymore.

Q. Withdrawal pains?

The President. Yes. I was only halfway kidding when I told the church the other day that I expected to be disoriented when I go into big rooms and nobody plays a song anymore. [Laughter] I mean, I'm sure there will be somehow some kind of things that will be tough, and I'll have to learn how to be a real citizen all over again, but that's good.

The Presidency is what was so well taken care of, and a lot of the cares of normal daily life that I never had to think about when I was in office. It's probably healthy for a

person not to have that kind of support for too many years in life. So I'm kind of looking forward to it.

Socks

Q. What about Socks? What's going to happen to Socks?

The President. Well, I don't know. You know, I made more progress in the Middle East than I did between Socks and Buddy. [Laughter] And I don't know that I've got enough space and enough help when I'm gone to keep them both away from one another and keep them both happy.

But I still haven't quite resolved what to do. I love that old cat. You know, we picked him up as sort of a half stray in Arkansas, and I hate to give him up. But Betty loves him. Half the White House loves the cat, and the other half loves the dog.

Q. You can't break them up into that many pieces.

The President. No, no. I'm sure going to take—I know I'll take Buddy, because I slept with him for 16 months all during the Senate campaign. He was with me all the time. [Laughter] I can't live without him.

But I really—I've even talked to some of the guys, a couple of the guys at the White House are quite good at training pets, and we've all kind of tried to work at this. None of us have been able to figure out how to actually get them in peaceful coexistence.

I feel of all the skills I learned as President in bringing these people together, I didn't do very well with that. [Laughter]

Q. It's been a pleasure, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you.

The President. Thanks, Steve.

Q. Thank you very much, sir.

The President. You guys have been great.

NOTE: The interview began at 11:37 p.m. aboard Air Force One en route to Andrews Air Force Base, MD. In his remarks, the President referred to President Kim Dae-jung of South Korea; Governor Gray Davis of California; Gore 2000 campaign director William M. Daley and his brother, Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago; former Minister of Foreign Affairs Ariel Sharon and former Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel; President-elect George W. Bush; Vice President-elect Dick Cheney; Secretary of State-designate Colin L. Powell; President Bashar al-Asad of Syria, son of the late President Hafiz al-Asad; President

Saddam Hussein of Iraq; President Vladimir Putin of Russia; and Betty Currie, the President's personal secretary. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks on the 2001 Economic Report and an Exchange With Reporters

January 12, 2001

The President. Good morning. Today I'm sending my eighth and final economic report prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers. I want to thank Dr. Martin Baily, Katheryn Shaw, Robert Lawrence, and the CEA staff for their fine work in analyzing America's new economy.

I also want to thank Secretary Summers, Gene Sperling, Jack Lew, Sylvia Mathews, my entire economic team for all they have done these last 8 years to turn our country around and move us forward together.

Over the last 8 years, these annual economic reports have helped to tell America's story—a story of prosperity and progress, of the hard work of our people, and the results of policies rooted in common values and common sense. The message of this final report is clear: The economy remains strong, on a sound foundation, with a bright future.

Eight years ago it was a very different story, with 10 million of our fellow citizens out of work, high interest rates, low confidence, a deficit that was \$290 billion and rising, a debt that had quadrupled in the previous 12 years. The new course we charted to eliminate the deficit, invest in education and the American people's future, and open overseas markets for America's products has worked. Year-in and year-out, we have resisted politically attractive but economically unwise temptations to veer from the path of fiscal discipline.

We have in the course of this effort turned the record deficits into record surpluses and produced the longest economic expansion in history. We have not only had 22½ million new jobs and the lowest unemployment in 30 years; we've been able to add to the life of both Medicare and Social Security to help ease the burden on future generations, and make the long-term solutions less difficult in

the present. And we're on track that was unimaginable 8 years ago when I first came here, to get America out of debt at the end of this decade.

The evidence in this report shows that maintaining the path of fiscal discipline is critical to keeping America on the path of economic progress. Fiscal discipline has allowed the energy and entrepreneurship of the American people to increase investment, productivity, and living standards. Fiscal responsibility has given us lower interest rates, which by the end of the year will be—excuse me—has given us not only lower interest rates; it's given us surpluses that by the end of the year will have permitted us to pay down about \$560 billion off the national debt. And I think all of us are very proud that we can leave that legacy to the incoming administration and to the children of this country.

More important in an economic sense, perhaps, is that it has lowered interest rates. By having the Government pay back debt instead of borrow more money, you have lower interest rates for business loans, college loans, home loans, car loans. It amounts, on the average, to \$2,000 in mortgage payment savings a year for the average family, \$200 in car payments, \$200 in college loan payments. It has also given us higher growth.

Now, over the last couple of years, the economy was growing at a blistering pace. Everyone knew that the rate of growth would ease off. But that is not to say that the evidence suggests anything other than that the expansion will and should continue.

So that's the context in which we have tried to work for 8 years and the options that we leave to our successors. And there are many options. I have repeatedly said America can afford a tax cut. But I do not believe that the tax cut plus whatever spending plans there will be should be so large as to take us off the path of fiscal discipline, for a simple reason—paying down the debt keeps interest rates lower. That means stronger businesses, higher incomes, more jobs, a stronger market. Keeping those long-term rates down is profoundly important.

So what I would hope for the future when the Congress deliberates this and the President makes his proposal—the details are up

to them; I'm moving out of the policy business in just a few days here—but I would hope that the combined total of the tax cut and the spending plans would not be so large as to call our commitment to fiscal discipline into question in a way that would run the risk of returning to on-budget deficits, higher interest rates, and in the process, would drain away the savings that will be needed to deal with the Social Security and Medicare challenges the retirement of the baby boomers will present.

Eight years of responsible budgets and fiscal responsibility have put our country in a position to take advantage of our long-term opportunities and to meet our long-term challenges. It's a path that I hope we'll be able to stay on. I would like it very much if our country were debt-free by the end of this decade, for the first time since 1835.

Even more, I would like it if we were able to free up 11 cents on the dollar of the Federal budget to deal with Social Security, Medicare, invest in education, and provide further tax cuts in the future.

So I think we're in good shape. I think I'm leaving with all options open. And the only cautionary point I want to make is, I think that the combined impact of spending and tax cuts, I would hope, would not be such as to prevent us from continuing to pay down this debt, so we can keep interest rates low and the economy strong over the long run.

Thank you.

No Gun Ri

Q. Mr. President, survivors of the No Gun Ri killing say that the U.S. report is a whitewash and that your statement of regret does not offer a sincere apology. How do you respond to that criticism? And did you intend your statement of regret to be an apology?

The President. Well, I think on a personal basis, as I said yesterday, I don't think there is any difference in the two words. They both mean that we are profoundly sorry for what happened and that things happened which were wrong.

I think the word which was agreed on, working with the Koreans, pursuing the investigations, was thought to be appropriate in a, if you will, a legal and a political sense,

because the evidence was not clear that there was responsibility for wrongdoing high enough in the chain of command in the Army to say that, in effect, the Government was responsible. I think that was the real issue.

But I don't think—from a purely human point of view, I don't think there's any difference in the fact that we know things happened which should not have happened. Things were done which should not have been done. Innocent people died, and others were wounded. Their families were wounded and remain wounded to the present day, and we are profoundly sorry about that.

So I don't think in terms of the human impact and the acknowledgement that things that happened that shouldn't have happened that were wrong, I don't think there is any difference.

And I certainly told the investigators I didn't want the investigation whitewashed. We did our best to find out what happened and to determine the facts as best we could. And we issued a joint statement and sort of path of proceeding with the Korean Government—I talked to President Kim last night about it—and we've done our best to do the right thing.

President-Elect Bush's Comments on the Economy

Q. Do you believe that President-elect Bush's comments about the economy, slowing economy, and the Vice President's comments about that the economy is possibly heading towards recession is actually a self-fulfilling prophecy and perhaps potentially dangerous talk?

The President. Well, I don't want to get into characterizing that. I think it's not wise for me to do that, and not appropriate. I can only tell you what I've tried to do for 8 years. What I've tried to do for 8 years is to level with the American people based on the evidence and to be conservative in my estimates when it came to the tax cuts I advocated and the spending I advocated.

The evidence is, the blue chip consensus is for growth of about 2.6 percent next year, slightly slower in the first half of the year and more robust in the second half. And they have written that down from a previous projection of something over 3 percent.

If we grow at 2.6 percent, then the unemployment rate should stay around where it is now and we will continue to create new jobs. So that's what the evidence is today. And if the evidence changes, then everyone should look at what the facts are and act in an appropriate way. But the experts who make a living doing this believe the economy will grow at 2.6 percent next year, slightly slower in the first 6 months, slightly more robust in the second 6 months.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. On the Middle East, can you say, having heard from what the Israelis and Palestinians discussed at Erez, that it's now—there's no hope of an agreement on your watch between the two? Have you given up hope on that?

The President. No, but I've not tried to raise hopes, either. They are—they have a surprising amount of agreement and a few intense points of controversy. And I think that there are all kinds of reasons why an agreement on the big issues has always been kind of against the odds. But they have continued to try, and they're trying now in a climate which is much less negative than just a few days ago and the preceding weeks.

So this is really up to them. I'm working hard on it, and I'm spending time on it every day. But they have to decide. And I think the United States will be very supportive of them if they do decide to do it. And I'll do whatever I can to help.

James Riady

Q. Sir, can you tell us what your relationship was with James Riady, and are you concerned at all by his decision to plead guilty to a campaign finance offense and pay a large fine?

The President. Well, I knew him when he was in Arkansas and when he owned—his family owned part of a bank there, and I've kept up with him since. And I have—no, I'm not at all concerned about it. I think that—I think people should know what our campaign finance laws are and should obey them.

Lt. Comdr. Michael S. Speicher

Q. Mr. President, how is the United States going to get Iraq to give up information about Lt. Commander Speicher?

The President. Well, we're working on that. Let me just say to all of you, I agreed with the decision to take his name off the killed in action list and put it on the missing in action list. I think it was the right decision. But I do not want to raise false hopes here. We do not have hard evidence that he is alive.

We have some evidence that what had been assumed to be the evidence that he was lost in action is not so. And we're going to do our best to find out if he is alive, and if he is, to get him out—because as a uniformed service person, he should have been released by now if he is alive.

2000 Presidential Election

Q. Mr. President, were you trying to call into question the legitimacy of the Bush Presidency with your remarks the other night?

The President. In Chicago? No, I was trying to have a little fun with Bill Daley. I mean, we were there in Chicago, he had just introduced his brother, a bunch of his family members were there, all of his friends were there, he'd been out of Chicago for some time, and I was trying to say what a good job he had done running the campaign. And we were all just having a good time. It was all in good fun, and everybody laughed about it, and most everybody agreed with what I said who was there, because it was all a bunch of Democrats, as you would expect.

But there was no—I intended to have no impact on that. Let me go back—I have nothing to add on that question to what I said after the Vice President made his statement. We accept the decision of the Supreme Court. It is the way our system works. And it's not the first time or probably the last time the Supreme Court will make a decision with which I do not agree, but I did not call into question his legitimacy. I was having a good, old-fashioned little bit of fun with Bill Daley and his brother and his friends and my friends in Chicago. We were just having a good time, and I was trying to say that I thought he did a fine job running

the Vice President's campaign, and I do think that. And I think he did a fine job.

President's Future Plans

Q. Mr. President, after the inauguration, you're going to Chappaqua, is that correct?

The President. Absolutely.

Q. Are you coming back to Washington or going to Arkansas or staying in New York?

The President. I'm going to live in New York. But I will come—and Hillary and I will spend weekends in New York, and every now and then I hope I can come down here and see her in the week. But if I get in the newspapers, I probably won't come anymore. I'd like to keep an appropriate low profile for some time. I think it's important. And I want to take a couple of months to rest. I've been working for 27 years now, pretty hard, and I want to rest a little while and really think about the rest of my life and how I can serve best. And that's what I want to do.

So I'll be mostly in New York. I'll be going to Arkansas to get my library project up and going and trying to think through exactly how I'm going to do my foundation work, my service work. And we'll have a transition office here for 6 months, as all former Presidents do, and then I'll have an office in New York City after that and maybe before 6 months is up.

Thank you very much.

Socks

Q. Are you really giving Socks away?

The President. Oh, I don't know. I did better with the Arabs—the Palestinians and the Israelis than I've done with Socks and Buddy. [Laughter] And I won't have as much space or as much help in managing them, so I'm trying to figure out whether I can do it. Because I've had that cat a long time. You know, we took him in as a stray back in Arkansas, and I hate to give him up, although Betty and a lot of other people here in the White House really love him. It's just another one of those places where I haven't yet made peace. But I've got 8 days. [Laughter]

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. on the South Grounds at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gore 2000 campaign direc-

tor William M. Daley; and Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

January 6

In the morning, the President and Chelsea Clinton visited the National Zoo, where they viewed the zoo's new pair of giant panda bears.

January 7

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to New York City, and in the evening, they traveled to Chappaqua, NY.

January 8

In the morning, the President returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to reappoint Birch Bayh as a member of the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board.

The President announced his intention to reappoint Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel as a member of the Commission of Fine Arts.

The President announced his intention to reappoint Nina J. Stewart as a member of the Security Policy Advisory Board.

The President announced his intention to appoint Dean R. O'Hare as a member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations.

The President announced his intention to appoint Esteban E. Torres as a member of the Fannie Mae Board of Directors.

The President declared a major disaster in Texas and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by a severe winter ice storm beginning on December 12, 2000, and continuing.

January 9

In the morning, the President traveled to East Lansing, MI, and in the afternoon, he traveled to Chicago, IL.

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC.

January 10

The President declared a disaster in Michigan and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery areas in the areas struck by record/near record snow on December 11–31, 2000.

The White House announced that the President will travel to Little Rock, AR, on January 17 to address a joint session of the Arkansas General Assembly.

The White House announced that the President and Hillary Clinton will travel to Chappaqua, NY, on January 20, following the Inauguration.

January 11

In the morning, the President traveled to Dover, NH, and in the afternoon, he traveled to Manchester, NH. Later, the President traveled to Boston, MA.

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC.

January 12

In the morning, the President traveled to Bethesda, MD, for his annual physical examination at the Bethesda Naval Hospital.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC, and later, he and Hillary Clinton went to Camp David, MD.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to appoint Arthur Chapa as a member of the U.S. Military Academy Board of Visitors.

The President announced his intention to appoint Raymond Gilmartin, Jessica Matthews, and Stephen Brobeck as members to the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations.

The President declared a major disaster in Louisiana and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by a severe winter ice storm beginning on December 11, 2000, and continuing through January 3, 2001.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted January 3 *

Bonnie J. Campbell,
of Iowa, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit, vice George G. Fagg, retired.

James E. Duffy, Jr.,
of Hawaii, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit, vice Cynthia Holcomb Hall, retired.

Barry P. Goode,
of California, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit, vice Charles E. Wiggins, retired.

Roger L. Gregory,
of Virginia, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Fourth Circuit, a new position to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Kathleen McCree Lewis,
of Michigan, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Sixth Circuit, vice Cornelia G. Kennedy, retired.

Enrique Moreno,
of Texas, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Fifth Circuit, vice William L. Garwood, retired.

Helene N. White,
of Michigan, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Sixth Circuit, vice Damon J. Keith, retired.

Sarah L. Wilson,
of Maryland, to be a Judge of the U.S. Court of Federal Claims for a term of 15 years, vice Loren A. Smith, term expired.

James A. Wynn, Jr.,
of North Carolina, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Fourth Circuit, vice James Dickson Phillips, Jr., retired.

* These nominations were not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

Submitted January 4 *

H. Alston Johnson III,
of Louisiana, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for
the Fifth Circuit, vice John M. Duhe, Jr.,
retired.

Submitted January 5 *

James V. Aidala,
of Virginia, to be Assistant Administrator for
Toxic Substances of the Environmental Pro-
tection Agency, vice Lynn R. Goldman, to
which position he was appointed during the
last recess of the Senate.

Nina M. Archabal,
of Minnesota, to be a member of the Na-
tional Council on the Humanities for a term
expiring January 26, 2006, vice Nicholas
Kanellos, term expired, to which position she
was appointed to during the last recess of
the Senate.

James H. Atkins,
of Arkansas, to be a member of the Federal
Retirement Thrift Investment Board for a
term expiring September 25, 2004, to which
position he was appointed during the last re-
cess of the Senate.

Geoff Bacino,
of Illinois, to be a member of the National
Credit Union Administration Board for the
term of 6 years expiring August 2, 2005, vice
Norman E. D'Amours, term expired, to
which position he was appointed during the
last recess of the Senate.

Betty G. Bengtson,
of Washington, to be a member of the Na-
tional Council on the Humanities for a term
expiring January 26, 2006, vice Ramon A.
Gutierrez, term expired, to which position
she was appointed during the last recess of
the Senate.

Allen E. Carrier,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member
of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of
American Indian and Alaska Native Culture
and Arts Development for a term expiring

May 19, 2004, vice Duane H. King, term ex-
pired, to which position he was appointed
during the last recess of the Senate.

Ron Chew,
of Washington, to be a member of the Na-
tional Council on the Humanities for a term
expiring January 26, 2006, vice Robert I.
Rotberg, term expired, to which position he
was appointed during the last recess of the
Senate.

Edward Correia,
of Maryland, to be a member of the National
Council on Disability for a term expiring
September 17, 2002, vice Michael B.
Unhjem, term expired, to which position he
was appointed during the last recess of the
Senate.

George Darden,
of Georgia, to be a member of the Board
of Directors of the Overseas Private Invest-
ment Corporation the term expiring Decem-
ber 17, 2003, vice Zell Miller, to which po-
sition he was appointed during the last recess
of the Senate.

Dennis M. Devaney,
of Michigan, to be a member of the U.S.
International Trade Commission for a term
expiring December 16, 2009, vice Thelma J.
Askey, term expired, to which position he was
appointed during the last recess of the Sen-
ate.

James F. Dobbins,
of New York, a career member of the Senior
Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor,
to be an Assistant Secretary of State (Euro-
pean Affairs), vice Marc Grossman, resigned,
to which position he was appointed during
the last recess of the Senate.

James A. Dorskind,
of California, to be General Counsel of the
Department of Commerce, vice Andrew J.
Pincus, resigned, to which position he was
appointed during the last recess of the Sen-
ate.

Bill Duke,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member
of the National Council on the Humanities
for a term expiring January 26, 2006, vice

* These nominations were not received in time
for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

Charles Patrick Henry, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Michael V. Dunn,
of Iowa, to be a member of the Farm Credit Administration Board, Farm Credit Administration, for a term expiring October 13, 2006, vice Marsha P. Martin, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Fred P. DuVal,
of Arizona, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation for a term expiring October 6, 2002, vice Ann Brownell Sloane, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Ross Edward Eisenbrey,
of the District of Columbia, to be member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for a term expiring April 27, 2005, vice Stuart E. Weisberg, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Jayne G. Fawcett,
of Connecticut, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development for a term expiring May 19, 2006, vice Alfred H. Qoyawayma, term expired, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Toni G. Fay,
of New Jersey, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for National and Community Service for a term expiring October 6, 2001, vice John Rother, term expired, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Anita Perez Ferguson,
of California, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation for a term expiring September 20, 2006, vice Maria Otero, term expired, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Donald L. Fixico,
of Kansas, to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities for a term expiring January 26, 2004, vice Alan Charles Kors, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Gregory M. Frazier,
of Kansas, to be Chief Agricultural Negotiator, Office of the United States Trade Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Hsin-Ming Fung,
of California, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts for a term expiring September 3, 2006, vice Speight Jenkins, term expired, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Henry Glassie,
of Indiana, to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities for a term expiring January 26, 2006, vice Martha Congleton Howell, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

James John Hoecker,
of Virginia, to be a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for the term expiring June 30, 2005, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Paulette H. Holahan,
of Louisiana, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 2004, vice Mary S. Furlong, term expired, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Elwood Holstein, Jr.,
of New Jersey, to be Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Oceans and Atmosphere, vice Terry D. Garcia, resigned, to which position he was appointed during the last session of the Senate.

Mary D. Hubbard,
of Alabama, to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities for a term expiring January 26, 2004, vice Theodore S.

Hamerow, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Timothy Earl Jones, Sr.,
of Georgia, to be a Commissioner of the U.S. Parole Commission for a term of 6 years, vice Marie F. Ragghianti, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Arthenia L. Joyner,
of Florida, to be a member of the Federal Aviation Management Advisory Council for a term of one year (new position), to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

John R. Lacey,
of Connecticut, to be Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for a term expiring September 30, 2003, vice Delissa A. Ridgway, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Miguel D. Lausell,
of Puerto Rico, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation for a term expiring December 17, 2003, vice John Crystal, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Edwin A. Levine,
of Florida, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice David Gardiner, resigned, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Robert Mays Lyford,
of Arkansas, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation for a term expiring December 17, 2002, vice Harvey Sigelbaum, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Sheryl R. Marshall,
of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board for a term expiring October 11, 2002, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Marilyn Gell Mason,
of Florida, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 2003, vice Joel David Valdez, term expired, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Laramie Faith McNamara,
of Virginia, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for a term expiring September 30, 2001, vice John R. Lacey, term expired, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Allan I. Mendelowitz,
of Connecticut, to be a Director of the Federal Housing Finance Board for a term expiring February 27, 2007, vice Bruce A. Morrison, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Susan Ness,
of Maryland, to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission for a term of 5 years from July 1, 1999, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Naomi Shihab Nye,
of Texas, to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities for a term expiring January 26, 2006, vice Bev Lindsey, term expired, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

David Z. Plavin,
of New York, to be a member of the Federal Aviation Management Advisory Council for a term of one year (new position), to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Donald L. Robinson,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 2002, vice Gary N. Sudduth, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Peter F. Romero,
of Florida, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (Inter-American Affairs), vice Jeffrey Davidow, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Vicki L. Ruiz,
of Arizona, to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities for a term expiring January 26, 2006, vice Harold K. Skramstad, term expired, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Barbara J. Sapin,
of Maryland, to be a member of the Merit Systems Protection Board for the term of 7 years expiring March 1, 2007, vice Benjamin Leader Erdreich, resigned, to which position she was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Gerald S. Segal,
of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the National Council on Disability for a term expiring September 17, 2003, vice Shirley W. Ryan, term expired, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Islam A. Siddiqui,
of California, to be Under Secretary of Agriculture for Marketing and Regulatory Programs, vice Michael V. Dunn, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released January 6*

Transcript of a telephone press briefing by Senior Health Care Policy Adviser Chris Jennings and a Senior Administration official on the President's radio address.

Released January 10

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Jake Siewert

Transcript of a telephone press briefing by National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling and Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Bruce Reed on the President's remarks in New Hampshire

Transcript of a telephone press briefing by Chief of Staff John Podesta, Under Secretary of Commerce Bill Reinsch, and Deputy Defense Secretary Rudy de Leon on export controls on high-performance computers

Fact sheet: Export Controls on High Performance Computers

Statement by the Press Secretary on Energy Secretary Bill Richardson's diplomatic efforts to increase world oil stocks, reduce market volatility, and improve the market situation

Released January 11

Advance text of remarks by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger on U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations

Released January 12

Transcript of a press briefing by Dr. Connie Mariano on the President's annual medical check-up

Statement by the Press Secretary on the President's physical examination at Bethesda Naval Hospital

Statement by Martin N. Baily, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers on the 2001 Economic Report of the President

* This item was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 5 but was embargoed for release until 10:06 a.m., January 6.

**Acts Approved
by the President**

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.